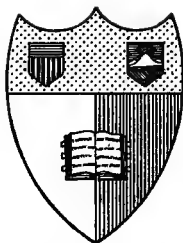


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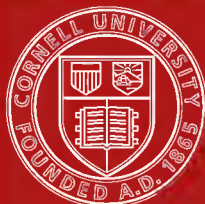
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THE TEXT OF  
HENRY V.

To  
MY WIFE.



# THE TEXT OF HENRY V.

BY

HEREWARD T. PRICE.

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NEWCASTLE-UNDER-LYME:  
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PREFACE.

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I wish to thank my friends, F. J. Sweatman, Esq., M.A., of Oxford, for so kindly looking up numerous points for me in the Bodleian, and H. E. Palmer, Esq., of St. Alban's School, and W. E. Riley, Esq., M.A., of Stoke, for criticism and corrections while this pamphlet was going through the Press. I hope it will not appear that I have treated the work of Messrs. Pollard and Wilson too curtly. I have had to compress into the smallest possible space what I desired to say; having now a whole page free for the Preface, I am glad to acknowledge how much I owe to these scholars, and with what interest and delight I have read their work. To the Right Honourable J. M. Robertson I am also indebted for information kindly conveyed to me in a private letter.

H. T. PRICE.

Newcastle-under-Lyme.

December, 1920.

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## CHAPTER I.

### INTRODUCTION.

THE object of this study is to investigate the text of Shakespeare's *Henry V*. I began the work some years before the war, with the intention of finding out whether the Quarto could be regarded as a first sketch of which the Folio gives us a revised and enlarged version. But as I went on, other subjects required discussion. For instance, it seemed that the use of shorthand in reporting Shakespeare demanded a fuller investigation than it had at that time received. Further, a comparison of the Folio and Quarto led me to conclude that the *textus receptus* had been wrongly put together in a number of instances and could profitably be corrected. And finally the condition of the Folio allows us to draw valuable conclusions as to Shakespeare's method of work.

The material to be investigated consists of the three Quartos (1600, 1602, 1608), on the one hand, and the version of the play in the First Folio on the other. Comparisons between the Quartos will be found in Ch. iii. From these it will be seen that the differences are, on the whole, so slight, that Quarto 1 may be taken to represent all three editions. There seems to be ground for believing that Quarto 3 was really issued in 1619. See Pollard in the *Academy*, 2nd June, 1906, and in *Shakespeare Folios and Quartos* (1909), pp. 81-104, and Neidig in *Modern Philology*, VIII., 145-63: etc. But this difference of date does not affect the present researches.

Now as to the most obvious differences between the Folio and the Quartos. The Folio in the reprint by the Shakespeare Society of New York runs to 3,376 lines, the Quarto only to 1721. And even this number is less than it appears. The Quarto has a trick of splitting up its prose into very short lines in order to give it the appearance of poetry. This, of course, increases the number of lines. Estimated purely by the number of words, the advantage of the Folio would be much greater.

The Quarto lacks all the Choruses and the Epilogue, and the whole of 1,i., 3,i., 4,ii. (except for the last speech, which is

tagged on to 3,vii.). Long speeches, whether in prose or verse, are very much longer in the Folio than in the Quarto, and often when they occur in the Quarto, they are scarcely intelligible, owing to the connecting parts having dropped out. See especially 1,ii., 33-95. A more important difference affects little groups of speeches, usually occurring at the beginning or at the end of a scene, which are not necessary to the action and yet form a sort of comment on it, helping to explain it more fully. Such groups are very often wanting in Quarto. Cf. 1,ii., 115-135; 2,ii., 155-165; 3,ii., 79-153. The Quarto is not divided into act and scene. This division has been carried out in the Folio, but not without mistakes.

The result of these differences is a great want of subtlety in the Quarto as compared with the Folio. The Quarto is a rude and undigested lump, lacking altogether the atmosphere, the fine motivation and close dramatic connection of parts which is so admirable in the Folio. The language of such speeches as it does give is admitted by all scholars to be inferior to that of the Folio, except in a very few places where the text of the Folio is corrupt.

To these disagreements in the text comes another: that of the persons of the drama. To begin with, the Folio is always much better informed about the persons of the drama than the Quarto. Two instances will be sufficient. In 2,i. the Quarto has the stage direction: "*Enter Nim and Bardolfe*"; the Folio: "*Enter Corporall Nym, and Lieutenant Bardolfe.*" In 4,i. the three English soldiers are mentioned in the Folio by name, in Quartos 2 and 3 they are simply called *Souldiers*, in Quarto 1 indeed *Lords*. In addition to such differences as these, the two texts disagree as to the number of *dramatis personae* and the allotment of the speeches, and each text has names that are wanting in the other. In the Folio there are 49, or counting all the nobles in the French King's speech at 3,v., 40-5, 62 personages mentioned in the stage-directions or in the text as being present on the stage. In the Quarto there are 42. The exact number of people intended by the "editor" (the name is used without prejudice) of the Quarto to be on the stage is difficult to ascertain, as he frequently does not know the names of his characters. He puts in stage-directions like: *Enter the King, and other attendants* (1,ii.), *and others* (3,vi.), *and his nobles* (4,vi.), *and the Lords* (4,vii.), *and his Lords* (5,ii.). This, then, is the material we have to go upon. I propose first to give an historical account of the attempts to settle this question, and then to discuss each text separately.

## CHAPTER II.

### HISTORY OF THE CONTROVERSY.

**F**ROM the time of Pope scholars have taken sides in this controversy. There have been those who, like Pope, declared that the Quartos represented a first sketch, and the Folio its subsequent elaboration, and those who, like Daniel, declared that the Folio is substantially Shakespeare's play as he first wrote it, the Quartos spurious or stolen copies; and there are a few who declare for neither side. Until the time of Daniel no scholar tried to establish his theory on a scholarly basis. The discussion, when it was not dogmatic, was inferential and purely concerned with the probabilities of the case. There was no attempt whatever to take all the facts and to try how far they would support the one theory or the other.

Pope's conclusions were the outcome of a very elaborate theory. (See his edition of Shakespeare's *Works*, 1728, Vol. I. Preface, pp. xvii.-xix.). He distrusted and disliked the Folio altogether. Its additions to the Quartos, he said, were bombast, mean conceit, actor's gag; its omissions were of the beautiful passages, and the *Original Copies*, of which Heming and Condell boast, were either piecemeal parts written out for the actors, or the prompter's book. Accordingly, he regards the Quarto of *Henry V.* as a first sketch of which the Folio is an enlarged and inferior version. (See his edition of Shakespeare, 1725, III., 397, 446.) However, in spite of Pope's authority, Dr. Johnson seems to be the only other editor of Shakespeare in the eighteenth century who states outright that the Quarto is a first sketch. But, unlike Pope, Johnson is careful to add that the Folio is the only authentic version of the play. (*Shakespeare's Works*, 1765, IV., 372, 394, 408.)

Meanwhile the modern theory of the Quarto was being carefully built up, piece by piece. John Upton, in his *Critical Observations on the Text of Shakespeare* published in 1746, expresses what is substantially the modern view. He says we know the Chorus to Act V. must have been written in 1599, and he adds "the fair inference to be drawn from the imperfect and mutilated copies of this play published in 1600, 1602 and 1608 is, not that the whole play, as we now have it, did not

then exist, but that those copies were surreptitious; and that the editor in 1600, not being able to publish the whole, published what he could." He thinks it possible that Shakespeare revised *Romeo and Juliet*, *Merry Wives*, and *Hamlet*, but not *Henry V.* All we can say with certainty is that Act 1, Scene I. is not found in the Quarto of 1600. Capell, in his *Notes and Various Readings to Shakespeare* (1779-83), I., Part 2, *Henry V.*, pp. 4-5, after showing how a botched version of *Henry V.* probably came on the boards, adds, "From this lame representation, in which the play might be otherwise mangl'd by the persons presenting it, the Quarto of 1600 was certainly pirated, by some scribe of profound ignorance, set to work by the printer." Stevens puts forward a similar theory in his edition of the *Plays* (1778), I., 265-6. Malone suggests that the Quarto was "printed from compilations made by chance or by stealth out of separate parts written for the theatre." (*Works*, 1790, I., Preface, p. x.) On p. 234 he adopts Upton's words (see above) without acknowledgment. Later on he says: "The supposition of a second draught is, I am persuaded, a mistake, originating from Mr. Pope, whose researches on these subjects were by no means profound. The Quarto copy of this play is manifestly an imperfect transcript procured by some fraud, and not a first draught or hasty sketch of Shakespeare's" (*V.*, 274, note).

After Malone no advance was made for more than a generation. In 1839 Knight tried to restore the theory of a first sketch. For him the Folio is an elaboration of the Quarto, in which the old materials are very carefully used up. His criticism of Malone takes the form of a series of questions. "Why, we would ask, could we not have from the copy of the amanuensis, or the recitation of the actor, something of the choruses, however mutilated and imperfect. . . . Why not, also, the first scene between the two bishops. . . . It would have been quite as easy for the bookseller's man to have taken down, or the player at the tavern to have recited, these parts of the play, as well as those which the Quartos do present to us." (*Pictorial Edition of the Works of Shakespeare*, 1839, I., pp. 309, *et seq.*)

Payne Collier thinks that the Quarto is a shorthand report, and that it represents a first sketch of which the Folio is an elaboration. He thinks it possible that *Henry V.* was improved and enlarged for a performance at Court, mentioned by Cunningham as taking place on 7th January, 1605. (*Shakespeare's Works*, 1842, IV., 461-3.)

The most searching treatment that this subject has until recent years received will be found in the edition of the play for the New Shakespeare Society by P. A. Daniel. Mr. Daniel



points out that the shortness of the Quarto is no evidence of its priority. This shortness may simply be due to the Quarto being a version cut down for stage-performance. Then he examines the Archbishop's long speech at 1,ii., 65-89. He says: "'Hugh Capet also,' says the Quarto. Why *also*? There is nothing in the Quarto to account for this adverb. We turn to the Folio and find that it is the case of King Pepin to which the Quarto refers, but which it omits. But this is not all. In the Folio, after the case of Hugh Capet there is next cited the case of King Lewes, who justified his possession of the crown as being descended from 'The daughter of Charles, the foresaid Duke of Loraine.' The Quarto, which also has this line, makes no previous mention of this 'foresaid Duke of Loraine.' Again here is proof of omission. But this is not all. The Quarto further by its injudicious omissions actually makes Hugh Capet, who deposed and murdered Charles of Loraine, fortify his title to the throne with the plea that he was descended from the daughter of this very Charles, confounding at the same time this daughter of Charles of Loraine with the daughter of Charlemaine and then, rejoining the current of the Folio, with it, sums up all the three cases of Kings who claimed in 'right and title of the female,' of two of which it has no previous mention. I have not overlooked the fact that, in this summing-up, the Quarto turns King Lewes into King Charles, but this I look upon as a mere blunder, of no significance either for or against my argument; it might be noticed as an instance of corruption on the part of the Quarto, but has nothing to do with the question of omission with which I am principally concerned."

Daniel's argument is unanswerable, as far as it goes. That is to say, he proves that the text of the Quarto, in some parts at any rate, presupposes the text of the Folio. But Daniel went further still. He tried to prove that it is the Folio which is the first sketch, and that the Quarto is a revised edition. Mr. Daniel thinks that certain historical mistakes made in the Folio have been corrected in the Quarto. To take one instance. The Dauphin was not present at Agincourt, and in the Quarto he does not take part in the battle. The Folio, on the other hand, does imply his presence at the battle. This and a few similar instances seemed to Mr. Daniel to make it clear that the Quarto is a revised edition of the Folio. Mr. Daniel's work is a most important contribution to the subject. He was the first to supply a really good argument for believing that the Quarto was not a first sketch. And whatever may be thought of his theory as to the historical mistakes of the Folio, he was at any rate the first to call attention to them.

Dr. Daniel's work was not left unchallenged long. In the *Transactions of the New Shakespere Society* (1880-2, pp. 77-102) Dr. Nicholson brings forward an elaborate array of arguments to prove that the Quarto is a first sketch. He thinks that Shakespeare deliberately altered the Quarto in order to make the Dauphin present at Agincourt; he thinks that the readings of the Folio are deliberate improvements of the Quarto, and that Shakespeare introduced more characters into the play. He believes that the revision of the play took place in 1610 for a presentation on the Knighthood of Prince Henry. As confirmation of the later date of the Folio text he believes that the word *humour* in Nym's speeches was expunged on two occasions because in 1610 it was stale and out-of-date, that the oaths were expunged in the Folio after the Act of 1606, that the introduction of the Welsh, Scotch and Irish Captains (3,ii., 79-153) was impossible in 1599, that the scene referring to the execution of the conspirators (2,ii.) was enlarged with reference to the Gunpowder Plot, that the extra syllable test in metre shows a comparatively late date for the Folio, and that Henry's use of *I* and *we* has been made to conform with that of James I.

Dr. Daniel's opinions, however, were accepted by most editors of *Henry V*. Fleay, indeed, held that the Quarto is a first sketch, written before 1599, without choruses, and following the Chronicle historians closely. The scene with the Scotch and Irish captains he takes to be an insertion for Court performance at Christmas, 1605, to please King James, who had been so annoyed that year by depreciation of the Scots on the stage. (*Chronicle History of . . . William Shakespeare*, 1886, pp. 206-7.) But on the whole, Dr. Daniel's presentation of his theory was accepted as true. Herford (*Eversley Shakespeare*, 1899, VII., 5-7) thinks that there may have been some shuffling about of the minor parts, but is convinced that the Quarto is not the first sketch.

A new turn was given to these studies by the investigations of Messrs. Pollard and Wilson. (See *Times Literary Supplement*, 1919, 9th January, 16th January, 13th March, 7th August, 14th August). Messrs. Pollard and Wilson consider the four "bad" Quartos together, *i.e.*, those of *Romeo and Juliet*, *Merry Wives*, *Hamlet*, and *Henry V*. As the arguments by which the authors support their case are much too intricate to be summarised here, I must refer my readers to the articles in question for a complete account. Briefly, the authors put forward the following history of *Henry V*. The earliest play of this name must have existed before 3rd September, 1588, because on

that day died Tarleton, the clown who had a part in it. The earliest printed play, *The Famous Victories of Henry the Fifth*, was registered in 1594, the earliest known edition being of the year 1598. This printed play supplied Shakespeare with material both for *Henry IV.* and *Henry V.*, but far more for *Henry IV.* Messrs. Pollard and Wilson do not think that Shakespeare took what he wanted directly from this play. They suppose an intermediate play acted by Strange's men before 1593 and retouched by Shakespeare. They think that the existence of a play on *Henry V.* in Shakespeare's own company as early as 1591 is made probable "by the fact that in the latter part of the year an English force was helping Henry of Navarre to besiege Rouen, and by the beginning of *Henry V.* (itself acted in an early form in February, 1592), which almost demands an earlier play celebrating the victories of the King, whose death its opening scene laments." They suppose that some time before 1593 Shakespeare took this play in hand and revised it. This revision, they assert, had not proceeded much beyond Act II., and "even those scenes which Shakespeare had thoroughly revised before 1593 would be likely to receive further touches when he came to make his final draft many years later." How exactly this "final draft" came into being, Messrs. Pollard and Wilson do not make clear. Even in the Choruses they detect work of various dates, without, however, trying to define the time when they could have been written.

Their theory as to the origin of the Quarto may best be given in their own words: "Thus all these four plays existed in some early form, presumably with Shakespeare's first touches to them, before May, 1593, the date at which his company (leaving him in town to push his fortunes with his newly-published 'Venus and Adonis') started on the longest tour it ever took. It is suggested that the four piracies of these plays are primarily based on the abridgments which were hastily made for this particular tour, that some at least of the plays from which the abridgments were made were old dramatic material only partially worked over by Shakespeare before 1593, and that all were subsequently rehandled by him . . . . *Henry V* in 1599. . . . We hope in later papers to show (1) that all these plays are based on abridgments of transcripts from Shakespeare's first rehandling of them; (2) that attempts were made to bring them all into some kind of conformity with his later versions." The special peculiarities of the Quarto version of *Henry V.* they explain by supposing that one of the minor actors in the company who played many roles supplied his own parts and what he could steal of the rest,

and that the "abridged transcript" was eked out with this material.

Mr. J. M. Robertson, in his *Shakespeare and Chapman* (1917) brings forward a more elaborate theory. He is convinced "that the play is really a recast of a pre-Shakespearean drama, apparently by Marlowe and Greene, of whose phraseology, as embodied in both *Edward II.* and *Edward III.*, there are plain survivals in this" (p. 246). Later on Mr. Robertson suggests Chapman's hand in *Henry V.*, and he finds that by the test of double-endings some speeches are considerably later than others. In appearance this theory does not touch the relations between the Quarto and the Folio, but in reality it has a most important bearing on the question. If its truth were established, it would go far to prove the Quarto a first sketch.

It will be seen that unanimity prevails among scholars only on one point, namely that the Quarto is surreptitious. The ranks of those who believe that the Quarto is some sort of a first sketch have been strongly reinforced of late years by the work of Messrs. Pollard and Wilson. I shall attempt in this pamphlet to prove that the theory of Daniel is the right one, that the Quarto is subsequent to the Folio, and is not a first sketch, and that the Folio text of *Henry V.* is Shakespeare's work and his alone.

### CHAPTER III.

#### THE QUARTO TEXT.

**A**S we have seen, there are three editions of the Quarto, but the first Quarto may be taken as representative of them all. The second Quarto, indeed, corrects some of the first Quarto's mistakes, but it adds so many of its own that it obviously has no authority. Most of its corrections are the result of sheer guessing. The third Quarto is better than the second; that is to say, its corrections more often agree with the readings of the Folio. The editor was especially interested in Fluellen, and is continually substituting dialect forms when the first Quarto gives standard English. That its readings are not always mere guesses is shown by its correction of 4,iii., 65-7. There it adds the words: "They were not there," which the other Quartos had omitted, although in order to get these words in, it drops others that are just as genuine. But the mistakes it commits far outnumber its genuine corrections. It cannot have been corrected from any authentic manuscript. It is possible that it was set up from a copy of the first Quarto that had been perfunctorily corrected here and there in the margin by someone who had had access to the original manuscript. Its mistakes arise partly from careless printing, and partly from the printer's habit of guessing at the right reading where the first Quarto was obviously wrong.

It is very much like flogging a dead horse to insist that the Quarto is an acting edition. This is asserted even by those who believe that it is a first sketch. But it would be useful to set down in brief exactly how the Quarto resembles the other acting editions. It omits the Choruses and Epilogue. In the acting editions of 1789, 1806, 1823, 1825, no Choruses are given. The acting edition of 1773 gives the first, and praises it highly; Choruses II., III. and IV. are relegated to the notes; Chorus V. is dropped. The 1780 edition gives the first Chorus only; the 1896 edition drops the second Chorus. In the editions of 1839, 1859, 1872, 1888 all the Choruses are given. The Epilogue is absent from all acting editions. Sir Frank Benson omitted the Choruses when I saw him in *Henry V* at Stratford. Mr. Lewis Waller, I believe, retained them. The Elizabethan Stage Society, of course, gives all the Choruses. They were pronounced by a fine elocutionist when I saw the performance,

and I remember them with more pleasure than anything else in the play. The scene with Macmorris and Captain Jamey (3,ii., 79-153) is omitted in the editions of 1789, 1806, 1823, 1825, 1839, 1888, and also by Sir F. Benson. It is given in the edition of 1773, but censored. It is given in the editions of 1780 and 1872.

Act 1, scene i. is altogether omitted or mercilessly cut down in the acting editions. Act 5, scene ii. is also very much cut in all acting editions. The French boasting scenes (3,vii. ; 4,ii., v.) have had to submit to a variety of fates. In the 1773 edition only the end of 3,vii. is given. In the 1780 edition the scenes are badly cut. The edition of 1789, following the Quarto, combines and curtails 3,vii. (a night scene), and 4,ii. (a day scene), putting them into Act IV., and ending

“ Come, come away,  
The sun is high, and we outwear the day.”

The editions of 1806, 1823, 1825, also combine 3,vii. ; 4,ii. The editions of 1839 and 1859 put 3,vii. in the middle of Chorus IV. The edition of 1872 gives the three scenes separately. The list of French names (3,v., 40-5) is omitted in all editions except that of 1872. It will be seen that the Quarto has a family resemblance to the normal acting edition. I do not want to exaggerate the importance of this resemblance. Scholars will, of course, differ exceedingly in the value they attach to the evidence of acting editions. But that so many of these editions omit the Choruses, shorten certain scenes and combine others, makes it easier to believe that the Quarto does these things simply because it is an acting edition, and not because it is a first sketch. If it were the other way about, and the Quarto were not like any of the acting editions, how much easier would it be to believe that the Quarto was a first sketch !

We now come to the more special characteristics of the Quarto. It gives patches of fairly accurate verse that frequently tail off into incoherent nonsense. The difficulty is to account for such an intimate mixture of good and bad. Messrs. Pollard and Wilson explain it by assuming that the Quarto is based on transcripts of an earlier version of the play than the Folio, which were abridged for performance in the provinces, and afterwards patched up with material from the Folio version by some traitor-actor, who supplied his own part or parts and also stopped up gaps in the text with what he could gather of the play while on the stage. They incline to the view that the Quarto is based on theatre-manuscripts, because, they say,

a good patch in the Quarto is often linked to the same passage in the Folio bibliographically, *i.e.*, by identity of spelling, misprints, punctuation, capitals. It is true that such passages occur to link the bad Quarto of *Hamlet* with the Folio, but none in *Henry V* (I am assuming, although they do not expressly say so, that their remarks apply to *Henry V*). Gower is the best reported character in the Quarto, yet even his speeches are not linked bibliographically with the Folio. Messrs. Pollard and Wilson think that Exeter is so well reported in the Quarto that his speeches can only be based on theatre manuscripts, yet here also the Quarto text is bibliographically independent of the Folio. There is in fact no bibliographical evidence to connect the Quarto of *Henry V*. with the original manuscript of the Folio.

It seems to me that Messrs. Pollard and Wilson have too lightly dismissed the possibility of shorthand. They think that the good parts of the Quarto are so good that they must come from a theatre transcript. They say: "the whole text of Exeter's speeches in the Quarto is much too good to be based on anything but a transcript, made with at least average care, from the original manuscript." Here they probably underrate the powers of Elizabethan shorthand-writers. What shorthand in those days was capable of may be seen from the stenographic editions of Henry Smith's sermons and of Heywood's plays. I intend to publish shortly an investigation of Smith's sermons, and here I will only summarise my results. On the whole, the shorthand text is wonderfully accurate in what it does give. Its greatest errors (just as in the Quarto) are due to omission: sometimes, indeed, incoherent nonsense is made out of a passage by omission of clauses or a few words here and there. The method and the quality of the reporting are not uniform. In one sermon (*A Frvitefull Sermon Vpon part of the 5. Chapter of the first Epistle of Saint Paul to the Thessalonians*) we can see two hands at work. About two-thirds of the way through, the style suddenly changes, and instead of being content with giving Smith's words, the reporter becomes bombastic and "writes up" Smith, turning his simple eloquence into rhetorical trash. This sermon is important as showing how far methods could vary. Grammatical mistakes, such as Bright's system of shorthand would be likely to produce, do occur, but not so often as we should expect. I give an example from Smith's *Sermon*, the first passage being from the shorthand edition published in 1591, the second from the authorised edition published in 1592 under the title of *The True Trial of the Spirites*. The italics in these passages are those of the original.

“ Then because the Apostle requireth *thanks* for *al things*, I shewed you that he is not thankfull before God which thanks him only for his benefites, but he is thankfull in deede, which thanks him for his chastisement. It may be while the Lord giueth, many will say : *blessed be the name of the Lord* ; but when the Lord taketh away ; who will say *Blessed be the name of the Lord*. There is one example then of PAVLES doctrine, which is : *in all things to giue thanks*. There is another example of PAVLS doctrine, which gaue *thanks* to GOD for his *rodde* : For an obedient childe doth not onely kisse the [p. 6] hand which giueth, but the rod which beateth.

“ After, speaking of these words, *Quench not the Spirite* ; I showed you that *the Spirite*, doth signifie the gifts of the Spirite : the *Spirite* in the 3. of MATHEVV is likened to *fire*, and therefore PAVLE saith well, *Quench not the Spirite*, because the fire may bee quenched.”

P. 292 :—

“ Then because the Apostle requireth *Thankes* for all things, I shewed you that he is not thankfull before GOD, which thanks him onely for his benefites, but he is thankfull indeede, which thanks him for his chastisement. It may be, while the Lorde giueth, many will say, *Blessed bee the name of the Lord*. But when the Lord taketh, who will say, *Blessed bee the name of the Lord* ? When the Lord did take, Iob sayd, *Blessed be the name of the Lord*. There is one example then of Pauls doctrine, which *in all things gaue thanks*. [The Prophet David sayth, *thy staffe and thy rodde have comforted me*] there is another example of Paul's doctrine, which gaue *Thankes* vnto God for his rod, for an obedient childe doth not only kisse the hand which giueth, but the rod which beateth.

“ After speaking of these words, *Quench not the Spirite* ; I shewed you that Spirit doth signifie the giftes and the motions of the spirite. The Spirite in the third of Matthew is likened to fire, and therefore Paul sayth well, *Quench not the Spirite*, because fire may bee quenched.”

It will be seen that the reporting here is as good as almost anything in the Quarto. The writer who did this would not have found Exeter's speeches impossible. It is not so good as Gower's speeches in the Quarto, but then, as we shall see later, there is no doubt that Gower's speeches were printed from an actor's copy of his part. If the title-page of the 1591 edition



of Smith's sermon is right in saying that it was "taken by Characterie," then there need be no reason to doubt that the Quarto text of *Henry V.* could have been "taken by Characterie" also.

The shorthand texts of Heywood's plays (*If you know not me* and the *Rape of Lucrece*) are superior to the Quarto of *Henry V.* But they have the same characteristics of ragged untidy language and of haphazard omission. For all that I am unwilling to bring them forward as evidence, because I am not satisfied that they are only the product of shorthand-notes, and I have neither time nor space to discuss their origin. In any case, that Smith's sermons are better reported than *Henry V.* is natural. (The other sermons of Smith that were "taken by Characterie" are much of a muchness; the passage I have quoted gives the quality of them all.) It is far easier to report one man reading steadily from manuscript in a quiet church than actors speaking excitedly from memory and liable to all sorts of noisy interruptions.

That Heywood's plays are better reported than *Henry V.* need cause no surprise. If the reporter began with Shakespeare, he would have had time to develop and improve on his system in the five years before he came to Heywood. Practice makes perfect. I do not attach any importance to the remark of Messrs. Pollard and Wilson that we have no evidence of note-takers in the theatre until five years after the appearance of the Quarto. Note-takers were busy in the churches from 1590 onwards; we know they were in the theatre in 1605; no wild outrage on probability is committed if we suppose they began to work in the theatre in 1600.

If *Henry V.* was taken down by shorthand, the only system that could have been used was Bright's. I have no space for an adequate description of it here. Readers will find a full account, together with a bibliography of the subject, in Dr. P. Friedrich's excellent article on Bright in the *Archiv fuer Schriftkunde*, Jahrgang I., 1915, pp. 88-140, 1916, pp. 147-188. Dr. Adolf Schottner has carried on the work by an article on the supposed stenographic edition of *Romeo and Juliet* in the same *Archiv*, Jahrgang, I., 1918, pp. 229-340.

It is a very difficult matter to find in the body of the Quarto indisputable traces of shorthand, because the indications admit of so many interpretations. For instance, Bright's system did not provide a sign for everything; but if a word



I am perfectly aware that there are a host of explanations for any one of these forms. Taken by themselves, they prove nothing. But they are just what one might expect from Bright's system. One or two are striking. That "Chronicles," the very word in Bright, should stand for "History" at 1,ii., 230, might be a coincidence, but no one can deny it would be a remarkable one. Then at 5,i., 43, the Folio has "peate his pate," the Quarto "beate his head." The pun on *peate* and *pate*, similarly pronounced as these words then were, would draw roars of laughter every time. It would be one of the actor's favourite hits. The pirate-actor of Messrs. Pollard and Wilson's theory would not be likely to make a mistake about such an outstanding joke as this. The actor's gesture, his pronunciation, the unfailing merriment; everything would stamp the pun on the pirate's memory. But the meagre words "beat his head" are just what Bright's system would reduce it to.

Then there is what Bright calls the "dissenting signification." If a word was provided with neither sign nor synonym, you took a word of opposite meaning, and wrote after it the initial of the word intended to be read. Thus *woman*, for which there was neither sign nor synonym, was written *man* with a *w* after it. Now there are a number of instances in the Quarto that may be explained by this "dissenting signification."

	QUARTO.	FOLIO.	BRIGHT.
1,ii., 283	sit	stand	<i>stand by sign for sit.</i>
2,i., 122	men	women	<i>woman by man.</i>
4,i., 320	all too little	nothing worth	<i>nothing by all.</i>
4,v., 18	Come we in heapes, weele offer vp our liues	Let vs on heapes go offer vp our liues.	<i>come and go same sign.</i>
4,vii., 131	day	night	<i>night by day.</i>

The important point here is that in all these cases, with the possible exception of the third, the Folio is undoubtedly the right reading and the Quarto makes nonsense. Take 2,i., 122. Mrs. Quickly is made to say in the Quarto, "As euer you came of men come in"; in the Folio, "As euer you come of women." I submit that the phrase "to come of men" in an appeal for softness and pity is quite impossible, especially in Mrs. Quickly's mouth. With regard to the line 4,v., 18, I must remark that the imperative was noted by Bright, but not the exact form it took, hence probably the difference in the two versions. I do not know any explanation of these readings, except that they are the results of Bright's system.

Then there are the grammatical differences. Bright did not trouble himself much about inflexions, a dot served to show the plural of nouns, in the specimens of his shorthand that

have come down to us the difference between the singular and plural of verbs is often not noted, a dot served to denote the preterite of verbs, *should* is represented by *will* with a dot after it, *would* by *will* with a dot before it. There are over forty disagreements between the texts as to the omission or retention of a plural *s*. Unfortunately it is not easy to base an argument on them as the Folio is so untrustworthy about a final *s*. But there is a series of readings that points to note-taking. Where Fluellen or Pistol have an absurd plural or singular form the Quarto tends to give normal English. For instance, at 3,ii., 66, the Folio has "foure yard," the Quarto "fiue yardes." The Folio reading is an instance of Fluellen's pidgin English; it was meant to be a wrong form. The reporter transcribing his notes may according to rule have put in the form that the context seemed to demand. It was not necessary to note the plural in Bright's system except in the case of ambiguity. Then there is 4,i., 47. The Folio has

" I kisse his durtie shooe, and from heart-string."

The Quarto :

" I kis his durtie shoe ; and from my hart strings."

*Heart-string* does not occur in the singular except here, and the note-taker again may have interpreted his notes according to what they seemed to require. At times even when recording normal English the Quarto reading is nonsense. For instance, at 1,ii., 284, the Quarto has " His mocke Shall mocke many a wife out of their deare husbands," where the Folio has " many a thousand widows." The combination of singular and plural in the Quarto might well be a result of Bright's system. A reading so incoherent could not come from a regular manuscript. Nor would a pirate-actor be likely to write in cold blood such nonsense as the Quarto, but Bright's confused grammar might easily give rise to it. At 1,ii., 105, 210, again, the Quarto omits a genitival *s*. This could easily be the result of Bright's system, as he does not consider it necessary to mark this *s*. I omit any discussion of *s* in the Third Person Singular of Verbs, as the cases are too uncertain to found an argument upon. Quarto 2 and the Folio of *Hamlet* also disagree about this *s*, and there shorthand is really out of the question. Only in the case of Fluellen are the instances symptomatic. Fluellen likes to use *there is* with a plural noun, the Quarto puts for this *there be*. *Is* and *be* had the same sign in Bright's shorthand. At 4,viii., 75, Fluellen says, according to the Folio, *your shoes is*, according to the Quarto *are*. That the Quarto should go wrong on such points as these is just what we should expect from a shorthand text. Bright's rule was to interpret the notes by the sense and not to strive after *litera'* accuracy.

Similarly it might happen that the sign for the verb was given without the tense being indicated. Differences of tense between the Quarto and Folio occur at 2,ii., 82, iii., 22, 3,vi., 92, 167, 4,i., 76, vi., 15. I do not attach importance to all of these passages, but give them for the sake of those who might think them significant. 2,ii., 82 is just like the nonsense that Bright's system would produce. More important is the fact that in Bright's system *would* was denoted by a dot before *will*, *should* by a dot after *will*, *shall* has no sign, and the future is denoted by a dot after the verb. This might account for the differences between the Quarto and Folio at 1,ii., 51, 265; 2,i., 37, 61, ii., 55; 3,iii., 10, vi., 123, vii., 70; 4,i., 80, iii. 42, 45, 48, 113, 121, 125, vii., 107; 5,ii., 178, 267, 401. None of these instances is particularly instructive, except perhaps 3,iii., 10, where the Quarto reads:

“ The gates of mercie are (*Folio shall be*) all shut vp.”

The Quarto reading is quite impossible, and could easily arise from a dot in the notes being omitted or overlooked. But I must grant that the theory of Messrs. Pollard and Wilson might explain it almost as well.

The differences between the two texts in the use of pronouns have been held by Dewisheit (*Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, XXXIV., 205) and others to afford evidence of shorthand. But I do not find many convincing examples; that is to say, such examples as could be explained by no other theory. There is great disagreement as to the use of *I* and *we*. In the language of the Kings *we* is more frequent in the Quarto than in the Folio. This may be due to actors using a stronger form to heighten the emphasis of their parts. It can scarcely be due to shorthand, as Bright had different signs for *I* and *we*. On three occasions the Quarto has *her* where the Folio has *his* (3,vi., 33, 132; vii., 65). The sign for *her* is *his* with a dot after it. It is possible that a practised writer would leave the dot out, trusting to the sense of the passage to give him the right word. In all these three cases *her* is the word you would expect from the context. In the first instance (3,vi., 33) Fluellen is speaking of Fortune, and is made to say *his* because he is always made to speak bad English. In the second case the Herald is speaking of England, and means by that the King of England; the decipherer of the notes took him to mean the country, and so put *her*. In the third case (3,vii., 65) the Dauphin is calling his horse his mistress, and says he (the horse) wears his own hair; the decipherer put *her*, because he conceived of *mistress* as only feminine. In all these cases a mistake is so natural, that other explanations are not excluded—an actor's

slip, a copyist's error, a compositor's stupid misunderstanding, and so on. But that the mistake occurs three times is rather against this; it points to some one principle at work; and shorthand explains it best.

There are a number of minor grammatical variants that I do not treat here because they can easily be explained otherwise. In a manuscript of Spenser's *Mother Hubberd's Tale* at the Bodleian we find a multitude of slight grammatical variations from the printed editions; and where such variations do not happen to illustrate some special feature of Bright's system, they prove too little to be tabulated.

In a shorthand report we would expect to find a number of mistakes owing to phrases being misheard. There are the following examples in *Henry V.* (I give some that could easily be explained otherwise).

	QUARTO.	FOLIO.
1,ii., 58	the function	defunction
110	Foraging	Forrage in
142	England	in-land
154	brute hereof	neighbourhood
210	dyall center	Dials center
3,ii., 49	they meant	the men
v., 5	spranes	Sprayes
vi., 81	Shout	Sute
vi., 160	heire	ayre
4,iii., 34	presently	<i>Westmerland</i>
vi., 17	to rest	a-brest

*Neigh-brod* occurs in Golding's *Ovid* (1593) 436, for *neighbourhood*, a pronunciation ending in [brud] is possible. At 3,vi., 81, *shout* for *sute* may be a misprint. In *Lear*, 2,ii., 16-17, *three suited* is spelt *three shewted* in Quarto 1. If the compositor had *shewt* before him, he could easily misread it, or correct it into *shout*.

We may add that Bright instructs his pupils to summarise when they find that they cannot keep up with a speaker, and this would explain the lame endings of so many good speeches in the Folio.

Messrs. Pollard and Wilson, indeed, say that the omission of the Choruses is conclusive against the theory that the Quarto is the work of a note-taker. But on their own theory the abridged version for the provinces had no choruses. I also presuppose some abridged version without choruses. As I have shewn, this is in accordance with the stage-history of the play. They are omitted by most actor-managers, including even Sir Frank Benson. This explanation is not altogether satisfactory. The popularity of the Choruses at the time was

very great ; they must therefore have been heard at the theatre, unless, perhaps, the play circulated in manuscript. At any rate Messrs. Pollard and Wilson admit that there was a version in which the Choruses were omitted : the Quarto could easily be a report taken by the pirate when this truncated version was put on the boards.

Not all of the Quarto is to be explained as the result of note-taking. Obviously Gower's part was supplied by the actor. I say obviously, because the quality of Gower's speeches is far above anything in the Quarto, and they give us a standard of what a text printed from theatre manuscripts would be like. The Governor of Harfleur's speech at 3,iii., 43-50, is also reported with wonderful accuracy, and in one detail is nearer Holinshed than the Folio is. It is curious that the word *Governor* is shortened to *Gouer*. in both the Folio and Quarto in the attribution of this speech. I do not know if it is fanciful to suggest that the abbreviation misled somebody into including this speech with Gower's part. It is, of course, possible that Gower doubled these two parts. I cannot agree with the suggestion of Messrs. Pollard and Wilson that the actor who took Bardolph or Mrs. Quickly supplied his part. It is significant that they cannot make up their minds definitely for one or the other. If either part had been supplied by an actor, it would, like the speeches of Gower, have been recognisable in an instant.

On the whole, I am inclined to believe that Exeter's speeches were supplied by an actor, though they are marred by many faults. Exeter is not nearly so well reported as Gower. But the difficult piece of Latin and French at the end of 5,ii. is given so accurately in the Quarto, that there must have been some good manuscript before the compositor. Elsewhere the Quarto invariably goes wrong with a foreign language.

To one explanation of Messrs. Pollard and Wilson I must take decided exception. Act 2, scene iii. of the Quarto opens as follows :—

*Host.* I prethy sweete heart, let me bring thee so farre as *Stanes*.

*Pist.* No fur, no fur. (*Folio*, No : for my manly heart doth erne).

Messrs. Pollard and Wilson comment : " Poor pirate ! He remembered the sound of the beginning of Pistol's speech, and wrote it down. When nothing else came back to him he wrote it down again, as a child might, to help his memory, and then left his 'No fur, no fur' standing, hoping to add some more in

a brighter moment which never came." The pirate was not quite so stupid as that. *Fur* is a recognised comparative of the adverb *far*, which Messrs. Pollard and Wilson will find in the New English Dictionary for the seventeenth century, and also in the English Dialect Dictionary for the present day. It is a direct answer to Mrs. Quickly's request: "Let me bring thee so *jarre* as *Stanes*." The Quarto simply preserves for us a piece of actor's gag.

The hypothesis that the Quarto is the work of a shorthand note-taker is not yet capable of proof, but I submit that it deserves far more consideration than Messrs. Pollard and Wilson give to it. The initial difficulty is a great one. How could a system so faulty as Bright's give rise to a text like the Quarto? But we have evidence in the stenographic editions of Smith's sermons and Heywood's plays that Elizabethan shorthand could produce work of surprising accuracy. I confess that I am not quite satisfied that the text of either Smith or Heywood was the result of shorthand pure and simple. "There is a strong smell of something left out" in both cases. No greater advance could be made in this branch of scholarship than to establish beyond a doubt the character of the stenographic editions of Heywood's plays. If it should be proved that Heywood's stenographic plays were genuine shorthand texts, then I do not see the slightest difficulty in accepting the Quarto of *Henry V.* as a shorthand text, too. It has all the distinguishing marks which we should expect in such a text. It may be urged that I myself ought to go no further until I had settled the question of Heywood. But an assistant schoolmaster in a provincial town has neither the time nor the opportunity of investigating problems so intricate as those connected with the stenographic plays of Heywood.

But even if it should be proved that the Quarto was not the result of shorthand, it would not follow that the theories of Messrs. Pollard and Wilson were true. Their method works excellently in the snippets to which they have applied it. They take one or two speeches in Act II. which are characteristic of the Quarto in their mixture of good lines and bad; they say the good lines come from the transcript (as they are too good for anything else), the bad lines are an attempt to fill up the "cut" made when the speeches were abridged. The person who tried to fill up this gap was an actor who snapped up what he could while waiting about the stage. This theory does not sound probable. How did the actor know what to memorise? Had he a copy of the transcript in his hands, and did he note on it what was missing? That he could scarcely



have done without exciting suspicion. Unless he knew the transcripts off by heart, he would not know where the gaps occurred, and consequently would not know what to look out for. If theatre transcripts were used at all, they can only have been filled up by someone in the audience, who took them to the theatre with him and made a few rough notes of what was missing.

Secondly, the transcripts, however much abridged, would have been coherent, the speeches would have made sense. It happens that in the extracts from Act II. given by our authors, if you put the good lines together they make sense. But supposing we take the whole speech (2,ii., 79-104, 144) as it stands in the Quarto, and try to make sense of the "good" lines without the help of the bad ones. It simply cannot be done. There might be some disagreement as to what constitutes a "good" line; but when you have got your good lines together, however you choose them, you will find they imply the existence of the bad lines, because, without the latter, or what stands for the latter in the Folio, the speech will not hold together.

Again, take Act I. and the long speech of the Archbishop of Canterbury (1,ii., 33-95). Daniel long ago showed that it is incoherent and cannot be explained without the Folio. Try as you will, you cannot reconstruct a transcript of this speech that shall be coherent. As Mr. Daniel pointed out, the Quarto presupposes the Folio; comparison with the Folio generally enables you to correct it at once. Even Messrs. Pollard and Wilson do this in their extracts from Act II. They tell us, after looking at the Folio, exactly how many lines the Quarto has left out. Now if the Quarto were the early and primitive work our authors would have us believe, and if the Folio is the ripe work of the year 1599, if there were all these years of development between them, the Quarto could not be so easily reconstructed from the Folio. Shakespeare, taking up in 1599 a work dating from his early youth, would have made of it something so immeasurably superior that it would be impossible to patch up the old garment with bits from the new. The contrast would be too striking. The relations between the Quarto and the Folio are in reality much too straightforward to support the intricate theories of Messrs. Pollard and Wilson.

There is one possible trace of an independent source in the Quarto. The first stage direction in 3,vii. in the Quarto is:—*Enter* Burbon, Constable, Orleance, Gebon. Gebon is also present in 4,v. The name does not occur in the Folio. In 3,vii. he receives one short remark (l. 98) attributed

in the Folio to Orleance, and at 4,v., 1, an exclamation given in the Folio to the Constable. If his name could be found in Hall's *Chronicle* or elsewhere, it would indicate a different source for this part of the Quarto than for the corresponding part of the Folio. But I have failed to find the name anywhere in Hall. It is more probable that Gebon was an actor, as Daniel suggests. I have not found his name in any list of actors, nor could Daniel. But there is at Somerset House a will of John Gebone, of Carlton, Suffolk, which proves that it is a possible name. The will throws no light on the question, none of the persons mentioned in it are actors. Or Gebon might be some corruption of the name of the actor Gilburn, a corruption very natural for a shorthand writer. There is also an actor Thomas Gibborne (J. T. Murray, *E.D.C.*, I., 214). If Gebon was the name of an actor, it is noticeable that he receives a speech of Orleance and a speech of the Constable's, *i.e.*, that the Quarto really did not know who spoke the speeches, and also, if Gebon is the actor's name, it follows that the reporter of the Quarto did not know whose part Gebon took, or he would have put the name for that.

The supposition that Gebon is an actor's name does violence neither to the theory of Messrs. Pollard and Wilson nor to mine. It is just as likely that the pirate-actor as that the note-taker in the audience did not know the name of a minor part, and simply noted the actor who played it.

In the list of the dead at 4,viii., 105, the Quarto has two names, Gerard and Verton, where the Folio has *Beaumont* and *Marle*. If we could find any chronicle in which these names appear, that would indicate a possible separate source for the Quarto. Personally I believe that they are due to some error.

## CHAPTER IV.

### THE FOLIO.

**I**N trying to fix the date of the Folio we have no more certain ground to go upon than in the case of the Quarto. The Chorus to Act V. (ll., 29-34) is generally held to contain a reference to the expedition undertaken by Essex to Ireland in the summer of 1599. Mr. J. M. Robertson, however, disputes this, and asserts that this chorus "may quite well be a modification of an earlier prologue, in which Essex or another may have been acclaimed on another occasion." (*Shakespeare and Chapman*, 1917, p. 248.) Allusions to *Henry V.* cannot be found in contemporary literature before 1600, unless, that is to say, we re-date certain plays similar to *Henry V.* in method or subject. Koeppl finds the influence of the Choruses of *Henry V.* upon Dekker's *Old Fortunatus* and Heywood's *First Part of Edward IV.* (*Studien Ueber Shakespeare's Wirkung auf Zeit-genoessische Dramatiker*, pp. 2 and 12.) Further, Chr. Middleton has the combination *famine, sword and fire*, which also occurs in *Henry V.*, Chorus I., 7 (*Fresh Allusions to Shakespeare*, p. 19).

Internal evidence is just as scanty. The oaths have been corrected to bring the play into accordance with the Act of 1606. The work was not done thoroughly; but that is true of other plays by Shakespeare. Dr. Nicholson thinks that the occurrence of the word "humour" is some guide to the date of the Folio. He points out that *humour* was very fashionable about 1598-9, owing in part to Ben Jonson's plays. It occurs, he says, about as frequently in the Quarto as in the Folio, but with this difference, that the first two instances are struck out in the Folio. He thinks Shakespeare began to eliminate the reference to the words, but, "after two such changes resolved on retaining it as a favourite saying which would individualise Nym" (*Transactions New Shakespeare Society*, 1880-2, p. 97). As a matter of fact, the word *humour* occurs nine times in the Quarto and twelve times in the Folio. This would be ground for believing that the Quarto was later than the Folio, if any reliance were to be placed on this argument at all. Again, on the basis of Shakespeare's references to the Scotch and Irish in 1,ii., 3,ii., some scholars think they can

detect workmanship of various dates in *Henry V.* Mr. Simpson finds it difficult to reconcile the warlike spirit of 1,ii. with the attitude towards the Scotch in 3,ii. (*Transactions New Shakespeare Society*, 1874, 416-17). Dr. Nicholson is of opinion that the words "like a caytiffe" (1,ii., 161) were struck out of the Folio in order to avoid hurting the feelings of James I. The scene with the Irishmen and Scotchmen together, Dr. Nicholson thinks was impossible until after James had come to the throne. Fleay supposes it to have been written for a special Court performance in 1605 (see chapter ii., p. 6) Evans is also inclined to think it a later addition (*Henry V.*, 1905, p. 47).

To begin with, we may rule out Dr. Nicholson's explanation of 1,ii., 159-60, namely that the words "*like a caytiffe*" were omitted to spare the feelings of James. Anyone who takes the trouble to compare the Quarto and the Folio texts here will be obliged to declare that both texts must have been galling to the feelings of a Scottish king. If *Henry V.* was given before James, then these passages were certainly omitted bodily. By omitting a phrase here and there no object would have been gained at all.

There remains the fact of a slight contradiction in sentiment between 1,ii. and 3,ii. so far as the Scotch are concerned. And the introduction of Scotch and Irish together on the stage in 1598 or 1599 seems premature, while a few years later there would be plenty of ground for it. It is not certain that 3,ii., 58-153 was not in the original draft of the play. Its omission from the Quarto proves little or nothing. It is omitted or severely cut down in nearly every acting edition of the play (see pp. 9-10). And the very circumstance which leads many to suppose it is an insertion, may have been a reason for its being omitted—namely, its apparent want of organic connection with the rest of the play.

Now from what we know of Shakespeare's relations with James, it is not unlikely that Shakespeare would give himself trouble to please the King. Jonson testifies to James's appreciation of Shakespeare. James granted Shakespeare's company a special licence, and is even said to have written Shakespeare a letter. (See Lee, *Life of Shakespeare*, 1899, pp. 82, 232-4, etc.) We also know that James was an exceedingly vain man, and of nothing was he likely to be so proud as of his quadruple title of King of England, France, Scotland, and Ireland. He was fond of enlarging on the fact that he was the King of the United Kingdom. See for instance his *Speech to Parliament*, 1607

Somers Tracts, 1809, II., 125. References to his quadruple title are frequent in the literature of the time. See Dekker, *Magnificent Entertainment given to King James, 15th March, 1603*; Jonson, *Private Entertainment of the King and Queene on May Day, 1604*: Works, Masques, 1640, p. 100. I may note as of especial importance in this connection, Jonson's *Speeches at Prince Henries Barriers*. Here Jonson compares the valour of Prince Henry (James's eldest son) with that of his "most famed of famous ancestors," and comes to Henry V. He says:—

" Yet rests the other thunderbolt of warre,  
 Harry the fift, to whom in face you are  
 So like, as Fate would have you so in worth  
 Illustrious Prince . . .  
 His very name made head against his foes.  
 And here at Agin-court where first it rose,  
 It there hangs still a Comet over *France*,  
 Striking their malice blind that dare advance  
 A thought against it, lightned by your flame  
 That shall succeed him both in deeds and name."

Some lines further on, Jonson speaking of James, says:—

" Here are kingdoms mixt  
 And nations joyn'd, a strength of Empire fixt  
 Conterminate with Heaven . . .  
 HENRY but joyn'd the *Roses*, that ensign'd  
 Particular families, but this hath joyn'd  
 The *Rose* and *Thistle*, and in them combin'd  
*Ireland* that more in title, than in fact  
 Before was conquer'd, is his *Lawrel's* act."

If, as some have supposed, *Henry V.* was revived for a court performance in honour of Prince Henry at the very occasion for which Jonson wrote the *Barriers*, it is interesting to note Jonson expressing just the ideas which *Henry V.* would give rise to, especially if the scene with the Irishman is taken as a compliment to James. Further, the oaths in 3,ii. give the scene a position of its own. It is true that not much can be deduced from the treatment of oaths in the play. But the fact remains that this passage abounds in great oaths. We can infer from two circumstances that they would not have displeased James. First, James himself swore frequently; and secondly, Jonson's *Irish Masque*, written especially for performance before the King, is full of just the same sort of blasphemy as this scene in *Henry V.* So that if this passage were written for some special occasion at Court the frequency of oaths in it could be understood. On the other hand, if it were an ordinary part of the drama, intended for public perform-

ance just like the rest of the drama, it is difficult to see why the oaths were not corrected. 'Their being in dialect may have helped them to escape notice, but I do not see why this should be so.

Against these reasons may be urged the following. Firstly, the presence of the Irish was not unhistorical; Shakespeare had warrant for it in Holinshed. Cf. the following passage:—

“ During this siege also, there arriued at Harflue the lord of Kilmaine in Ireland, with a band of sixteen hundred Irishmen, in mails, with darts and skains after the maner of their countrie, all of them being tall, quicke and nimble persons, which came and presented themselues before the king lieng still at the siege, of whom they were not onelie gentlie receiued and welcomed; but also because it was thought that the French king and the duke of Burgognie would shortlie come . . . they were appointed to keepe the north side of the armie, and speciallie the waie that commeth from the forest of Lions. Which charge the lord of Kilmaine and his companie ioifullie accepted. and did so their deuoir therein, that no men were more praised, nor did more damage to their enimies, than they did: for suerlie their quicknesse and swiftnesse of foot did more preiudice to their enimies, than their borded horses did hurt or damage to the nimble Irishmen ” (ed. 1808, III., 101).

Shakespeare makes his Irishman present at a siege of Harfleur, though not at the particular one mentioned by Holinshed; is it fanciful to suppose he took the hint from Holinshed?

Secondly, Scotchmen also took part in the war, though after Agincourt. See Holinshed (ed. 1808), III., 121, 128. I do not lay so much stress on this, rather on the fact that the figure of the Scotchman was scarcely a compliment to James. He is brave, it is true, but he speaks broad Scotch, and with all our respect for his courage we are secretly amused at him. James himself spoke broad Scotch (see a letter of Bacon's in *Aikin Memoirs*, I, III.), and he was clumsy in his gait (DNB., 607/2). He was as timid as a rabbit, but full of fine phrases. A comic actor had only to overdo his part a little to suggest an irresistibly amusing picture of James. And no Scotchman likes to be shown how he speaks English.

Again, although the Welshman, Scotchman and Irishman are brought together on the stage, there is no reference to the union under one crown, nothing is said to clench the allusion and make the compliment unmistakable. The group quarrels aimlessly and parts in dudgeon. That is not the way to empha-

size union or to flatter a king on being the first monarch of four realms, especially when James was so proud of his peaceful policy.

Taking everything together, I do not find there is sufficient evidence for believing that this passage was written at a different date from the rest of the play. It may have been meant, as Mr. Simpson thinks, to support Essex's policy of a closer union between the countries of Britain. But here again the fact that the four quarrel and part in dudgeon is against the theory. Personally I think it is safer to suppose that the scene is the result of the passage in Holinshed quoted above, together with the fact that Ireland was very much in men's minds at the time on account of the expedition of Essex. Shakespeare had a Welshman already and an Englishman, an Irishman was suggested by current politics and by Holinshed, a Scotchman suggested himself naturally to fill up the quartette. And I have enough faith in Shakespeare's genius to believe that if he had intended a compliment to James, he would have been able to turn it more gracefully. In any case, the contradiction between 1,ii. and 3,ii. is not very striking in view of the signs of hurry and carelessness which abound in the play.

Judged by modern standards the Folio offers us a poor text of *Henry V*. It contains at least a hundred misprints, some of them bad ones. One or two of its mistakes might be useful in helping us to reconstruct the history of the text. The acts are wrongly numbered, Act I. includes Acts I. and II., Act II. is Act III. of modern editions, Act III. is Act 4,i.-vi. of modern editions, Act IV. is Act 4,vii.-viii. of modern editions, Act V. corresponds to Act V. of modern editions. Act IV. comes in where no break is possible. Henry has just given the order to kill all the prisoners, thus closing Act III. of the Folio, and Fluellen comes on the stage to begin Act IV. with a speech referring to Henry's order. Obviously neither Shakespeare nor an actor-manager would have made Act IV. begin here. I did not pay much attention to this blunder until Mr. Lewis Waller's acting edition of the play fell into my hands. In his version (published in 1908) he praises the Folio for putting into Act I. "all the incidents that precede the King's departure for France. . . . As in the Folio the Harfleur scenes now [in Mr. Waller's version] constitute the second act instead of the third. The episodes attending the battle of Agincourt are in the Folio awkwardly distributed over two acts (Acts III. and IV.). All modern editors compress them into one. . . . This compression is followed here with the result that, while the great battle is the topic of Act III., the concluding Act IV.—the peace-making betrothal—in the present version is identical

at all points with Act V. alike of the First Folio and the modern editions." Now let us suppose it to be true that the Folio text is the original one, of which the Quarto text is nothing but a truncated stage version. Then it would not be difficult to imagine that the stage-editor, when he cut the Choruses, went through the manuscript of the Folio and marked where the new pauses were to come. Years afterwards the manuscript would be delivered to the compositor just as it stood, and the compositor would follow the division of the acts as indicated by the stage-editor. Suddenly he finds himself confronted with an Act V. to which there is no Act IV., so he simply inserts a heading "Act IV." as far back from Act V. as seems to him proper.

It has been thought that Shakespeare wrote *n* and *u* so much alike that they were hard to distinguish. So we have *Rosencraus* for *Rosencrans* throughout the good Quarto of *Hamlet*, and also spellings like *deuote* (1.ii., 83), *loue* (1.iii., 76), for *denote*, *lone* respectively. In *Henry V.* this mistake is not infrequent, 1.ii., 38, *succedaual* for *sucedant*; 174, *theu* (then); 285, *hnsbands* (husbands); *Vandemont* (*Vaudemont*), 3.v., 43, 4.viii., 105; *Leuitie* (*Lenity*), 3.vi., 118. This similarity between *u* and *n* probably gave rise to the following mistakes: *priuy* for *pining* (2.iv., 107), and *Sonnuance* for *sonance* (4.ii., 35). Shakespeare may have written the last word *sonnance*. Sir E. M. Thompson is also inclined to take a similarity in *u* and *n* as a characteristic of Shakespeare's handwriting (*Shakespeare's Handwriting*, 1916, pp. 48, 62). But, of course, many other dramatists may have been inclined to confuse *u* and *n*.

We now come to the special theories of Messrs. Pollard and Wilson. According to them, the Folio-text is the fine fruit of long years of stage-experience; it is the revision of a revision of a play. We should, therefore, expect to find in *Henry V.* the supreme example of an acting version, one shaped and modelled for the uses of the theatre during the many years it had kept the boards. We should expect to find long undramatic speeches shortened, unnecessary characters excised, the working of the drama eased by a thousand devices that only experience can suggest. In a word, concentration on dramatic effect would be the chief characteristic of a play that had repeatedly been improved upon while it was still being acted. We find the opposite of all this—we find long undramatic speeches, crowds of unnecessary characters (see the discussion of *Burbon-Britaine* below) and a discursive poetic play rather than a concentrated and dramatic one. Further, it is marred by two gross blunders. Exeter is ordered to remain



at Harfleur and yet fights at Agincourt, the Dauphin is ordered to stay at Rouen, but he also fights at Agincourt. I know various explanations of these blunders are possible, and I shall discuss them more fully lower down. I only wish to say here that it is unlikely on the face of it that a play which is the revision of a revision would contain blunders so crass as these. As it stands the Folio is unactable and not at all adapted to the uses of the stage. I find it hard to believe that such a version would be produced by years of performance in the theatre.

Secondly, Holinshed is the source of both the Folio and the Quarto. Well, the Folio is much nearer Holinshed than the Quarto is. I give the instances in point:—

	QUARTO.	FOLIO.	HOLINSHED.
1,ii., 37	<i>Faramont</i>	<i>Pharamond</i>	Pharamond
1,ii., 39, 44	salicke	<i>Salike</i>	Salike
1,ii., 43	writers	Authors -	authors
1,ii., 44	lyes	is	is
1,ii., 51	Shall	Should	should
1,ii., 53	time	day	day
1,ii., 53	Mesene	Meisen	Meisen
1,ii., 69	that	who	who
1,ii., 73	When	Though	though
1,ii., 74	<i>Inger</i>	<i>Lingare</i>	Lingard
1,ii., 88	<i>Charles</i>	<i>Lewes</i>	Lewes
1,ii., 90	Lords	Kings	Kings
1,ii., 99	sonne	man	man
2,ii., 174	redresse	reunge	reunge
2,ii., 178	creatures	wretches	wretches
2,ii., 179	in	of	of
2,ii., 181	deeds amisse	offences	offences
3,iii., 2	parley	Parle	parlee
3,vi., 180	bridge	Riner	ruer
4,iii., 3	fortie thousand	threescore thousand	threescore thousand
4,vii., 87	I do not know	I know not	I know not
4,vii., 162	<i>Alonson</i>	<i>Alanson</i>	<i>Alanson</i>
5,ii., 378-80	Quarto has <i>e</i> in a number of words	<i>ae</i>	<i>ae</i>

In addition, at 1,ii., 38, a whole Latin line, common to Folio and Holinshed, is omitted by Quarto. In five instances the Quarto agrees with Holinshed against the Folio.

1,ii., 51	No female shall succeed	No female Should be Inheritrix	females should not succeed to any inheritance
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The Quarto's metre is faulty in lines 50-1, showing that the speech has gone off the rails and needs correction. In having *should* in this line the Folio is nearer Holinshed than the Quarto with *shall*, and *Inheritrix* was no doubt suggested by Holinshed's *inheritance*.

1,ii., 74	heire	th' Heire	heire
2,ii., 148-9	<i>Henry</i> , Lord of <i>Masham</i>	Thomas, Lord <i>Scroope</i> of <i>Marsham</i>	Henry lord Scroope of Masham

But, as in Chorus II., the Folio already has the right title, *Henry Lord Scroope of Masham*, it is obvious that we here have only one of the Folio's too numerous mistakes about proper names. Notice that in omitting *Scroope*, which the Folio inserts, the Quarto gets further away from Holinshed.

3.iii., 45      succour      Succours      succour

This may be like the instance of *Bloods* (1.ii., 131), where Holinshed has the singular, and all commentators accept Holinshed's form as correct. The Folio is weak throughout in the omission or insertion of final *s*. The report of this particular speech in the Quarto is so accurate that it probably comes from the actor's part, and its reading therefore deserves consideration.

4.viii., 110    of all other      of all other men      of all other

It is noticeable here that the Quarto's metre is wrong. It reads:—

“ And of all other, but fiue and twentie.”

The Folio reads:—

“ None else of name: and of all other men,  
But fiue and twentie.”

Obviously the actor's memory or the pirate's system failed him, and so we get the Quarto text.

If we put on one side mere verbal criticism and come to the structure of the play, we find the Folio just as close to Holinshed. The Choruses are largely based on Holinshed. They paraphrase or summarise whole pages of the *Chronicle*. Boswell-Stone finds in each of the Choruses parts that are based on Holinshed. [I may add that in Chorus III., 1. 14, Shakespeare has the word *Riuage*. Mr. Robertson suggests that it comes from Hall's *Chronicle*, ed. 1550, Henry V., 5 verso, 21 recto. But it occurs in Holinshed, ed. 1548, 4 Henry V., 53 b., in a passage describing a fight for Harfleur, which Shakespeare is not likely to have overlooked]. The connection between the Choruses and Holinshed is so close that it is certain that whoever wrote the other parts of *Henry V.* based on Holinshed wrote the Choruses also. They are not summaries of the act to come. They contain references to events in Holinshed which the author found it inconvenient to dramatise. They could not have been written by a later author working over the drama. What they contain they received from the same hand that designed the rest of the play.

Act 1.i., 6-18, 75-81 is from Holinshed. At 1.ii., 131-2 occur phrases taken straight from Holinshed. In 2.ii. the characterisation of Scroope is largely based on Holinshed, and the word

“modest” (1. 136) is taken from him. All these are missing in the Quarto. At 2,ii., 185 the word “graciously” in a part of the speech missing in the Quarto comes from Holinshed. In Act 3,iii. the middle of Henry’s first speech, and his last speech in the scene are paraphrases of Holinshed, yet both are missing in the Quarto. The concluding speech of 4,ii. refers to an incident mentioned in Holinshed; the French nobles in their haste seize a banner from a trumpet. The Quarto gives the concluding couplet but omits the incident. At 4,vii., 91, in a speech that is the central one of the scene Henry asks: “What is this Castle call’d that stands hard by.” *Hard by* is in Holinshed *neere adioining*. The Quarto has simply “What Castle call you that?” The *Famous Victories* has this speech with the words *neere adioining*. So the Folio is also nearer to the early form of the drama. The lines 4,viii., 88-95, omitted in Quarto, are straight from Holinshed. The names of the English nobles at v,ii., 84-5 are from Holinshed; the Quarto simply reads, “Go Lords.” The reference to Burgundy’s oath in Henry’s last speech, omitted in the Quarto, is taken ultimately from Holinshed. In the *Famous Victories* it is also strongly emphasised.

I do not wish to push these differences too far. But for what they are worth, they tend to show that the Quarto is further off from Shakespeare’s sources than the Folio is. That the Folio agrees with Holinshed in such minute points is ground for believing that it is a text which Shakespeare wrote with Holinshed open before him. It is certainly against the theory that the Folio is once or twice removed from the original play. And I do not see how on any theory of revision one can assert that Shakespeare took the Quarto text and touched it up into something that happened to agree with Holinshed. I do not press the mis-spelling of names at lines 4,viii., 97-108 in the Quarto, because the Quarto is bad in its French all through. Still, if this speech was printed from an abridged transcript of the play earlier than the Folio, it ought to show some trace of being nearer Holinshed—its source—than the Folio.

Again, the Folio is nearer Holinshed in giving the Duke of Britaine’s name at 2,iv., 4, as well as at 3,v., 10-14, where the Quarto brings in Bourbon. Modern editors follow the Quarto here, but in my opinion they are quite wrong. Listen to what Holinshed says:—

“The French King being at Rone, and hearing that king Henrie was passed the riuer of Some, was much displeas’d therewith, and assembling his counsell to the number of fiue

and thirtie, asked their aduise what was to be doone. There was amongst these fiue and thirtie, his sonne the Dolphin, calling himselfe king of Sicill ; the dukes of Berrie and Britaine . . . . At length thirtie of them agreed, that the Englishmen should not depart *vnfought withall* [my italics], and fiue were of a contrarie opinion, but the greater number ruled the matter : and so Montioy king at armes was sent to the king of England to defie him as the enimie of France, and to tell him that he should shortlie haue battell " (ed. 1808, III., 77).

This passage is the basis of 2,iv., 3,v. The names *Dukes of Berrie and Britaine* occur at 2,iv., 4, the words *And if he be not fought withall* at 3,v., 2, and *Vnfought withall* at 3,v., 2. Burbon is not mentioned by Holinshed at all in this passage. Shakespeare, dramatising swiftly from Holinshed, and not pausing to consider how many parts he is creating, brings in at haphazard any character mentioned in the book before him. The Quarto, being an acting version, merges these characters, and gives Britaine's part to Burbon not only in 3,v., but also in 4,ii. If the Folio were the revision of a revision of a revision, we should not find parts multiplied unnecessarily like this. Revision would take the form of concentration for the sake of heightening dramatic effect. If the Quarto is the earlier version, I can imagine no reason why Shakespeare should take Burbon's part, and give some of it to a perfectly superfluous creature Britaine. If on the other hand the Folio is the earlier version, there is a very good reason why the Quarto should substitute Burbon for Britaine, namely, that Britaine is superfluous, and that an actor could be saved by giving all he has to say to Burbon.

Again, in making Exeter present at the battle of Agincourt, although he has been ordered to remain at Harfleur, Shakespeare is following Holinshed. Listen to what Holinshed says. " The king ordeined capteine to the towne his vnclē the duke of Excester, who established his lieutenant there, one sir Iohn Fastolfe " (III., 74) ; and later, speaking of Agincourt, " The duke of Excester vnclē to the king led the rereward, which was mixed both with bilmen and archers " (III., 79). The speech ordering Exeter to remain at Harfleur is lacking in the Quarto. Surely the best explanation is that Shakespeare, composing the play with extraordinary swiftness, not stopping " to blot a line," was involved in contradictions by reason of his headlong speed. When the play came to be acted, the contradiction was removed by the simple omission of the speech ordering Exeter to stay behind, and that is why it is not in the Quarto. In any case, if we accept Messrs. Pollard and Wilson's theory that the Quarto represents an earlier version of the play than

the Folio, it is peculiar that we should once more find the Folio in closer agreement with Holinshed than the Quarto. Can anyone seriously assume that Shakespeare happened to hit upon an alteration of the Quarto that by chance agreed with something in Holinshed?

Oh, no, you will say, this contradiction is due to the presence in the Folio of passages from an earlier play. Shakespeare did not trouble to revise the beginning of *Henry V.* very closely; he concentrated his attention on the battle, and that is why you have these glaring contradictions. Shakespeare's revision was not thorough. But on the theory of Messrs. Pollard and Wilson the Quarto represents an earlier version of the play than the Folio, and it shows us Exeter fighting at Agincourt, but says nothing of his being ordered to stay at Harfleur. Consequently, on the theory of our authors, the command to stay at Harfleur must be later than the Quarto. It cannot, therefore, come from an earlier play, and it must be Shakespeare's own blunder. Further, our authors assume that Shakespeare corrected *Henry V.* more than once; they make it a fairly old play by the time it received its final shape in the Folio, and from their theory it follows that Shakespeare must have known the work through and through, not only from revising it constantly, but also from having acted in it fairly often. On their theory, then, it is most extraordinary that he should have inserted this command to Exeter to stay behind, since it serves no dramatic purpose. If *Henry V.* was an old play, Shakespeare must have known quite well that Exeter fought at Agincourt. My theory that the blunder arose from his snatching too hastily at what Holinshed offered him receives support from what we know Shakespeare to have done in the case of Britaine. Those who assert that the Folio is the final revised version of the play will be hard put to it to discover a reason why this blunder should have been deliberately inserted, especially as it is without point or value.

With regard to the Dauphin the Quarto is truer to history than the Folio in not bringing him on to the field of Agincourt. Johnes indeed suggested that Shakespeare had been betrayed into thinking that the Dauphin was present at the battle, because in the list of the dead there is mentioned a certain Sir Guichard Dolphin. (The Quarto prints his name "sir Gwizard, Dolphin," the Folio, "Sir Guichard Dolphin." It is the Quarto that mistakes his position, not the Folio). I do not think that Johnes's suggestion is likely. It receives some support, however, from the stage-directions. In the earlier scenes the Dauphin always receives the place due to his rank.

He is mentioned immediately after the King and before anybody else. But in 3,vii. he comes last, in 3,v. last but one, as *Dolphin*, only in 4,ii. does he come first as *the Dolphin*. I don't attach any importance to this, but as others may, I draw attention to it. There is, however, one passage in Holinshed that may have misled Shakespeare. Holinshed says : . . . .  
 " the earle of Richmont, with all the puissance of the Dolphin laie at Abuile " (ed. 1808, III., 75). But it is not really necessary to explain why Shakespeare makes the Dauphin present at Agincourt. It was impossible from a dramatical point of view to do otherwise. After the taunts and insults that the Dauphin had hurled at Henry, dramatic convention demands that he should be humiliated at Henry's hands. We all regret that Shakespeare should have chosen this way of exalting Henry, but, once Shakespeare had admitted into the play the incident of the tennis balls, inexorable dramatic logic demands that the Dauphin should be punished. The *Famous Victories* gives the command to remain behind that we have in the Quarto and Folio, and later on is very explicit about the Dauphin not being present at Agincourt. It was too strongly emphasised for Shakespeare to overlook. There is no doubt, therefore, that here Shakespeare deliberately throws over his source. On the other hand, if we take the three French boasting-scenes before the battle (3,vii., 4,ii., 4,v.), the Quarto has every sign of being simply a stage edition of the Folio-text. In all three scenes the Quarto keeps to four characters. The stage-direction to 4,v. is *Enter the ioure French Lords*. In 4,v. the Folio brings on five characters, one of whom, Ramburs, has nothing to say. He is mentioned in Holinshed in connection with these events (see Boswell-Stone, p. 185), and that he is in the Folio but not in the Quarto, is another indication that the Folio is the earlier version. His part has been cut in the French scenes in the Quarto to save an actor. The Quarto throws together 3,vii. and 4,ii., and makes a sad hash of it, because it tacks on to a night-scene the line—

" The Sun is hie, and we weare out the day."

Different explanations have been offered of this blunder, but no one ascribes the Quarto arrangement to Shakespeare. Everybody agrees that the division into two scenes as in the Folio is the only right and proper one ; that is to say, that the Folio gives us the original text. In other words, all the tests by which we can try these scenes drive us to the conclusion that the Quarto is subsequent to the Folio. The weight of evidence is therefore in favour of the supposition that the Quarto omits the Dauphin in order to bring the play into harmony with itself, and that it was the easier to do so, as the stage-editor

had to cut out one part anyhow for economy's sake. All that has taken place is a redistribution of the Dauphin's speeches among the other characters. I submit that if it were the other way round, if Shakespeare had begun with the Quarto text and invented a new part for the Dauphin in these scenes, he would not have been content with simply giving him speeches that were good enough for another character. He would certainly have provided him with something distinctive.

Again in Act 5,ii. the Quarto gives Burgundy's part to Bourbon; of course, in order to save an actor. Bourbon has already swallowed Britaine's part and most of the Dolphin's, he now swallows Burgundy's as well. The Folio agrees with Holinshed in giving this part to Burgundy.

The central problem of *Henry V* is to explain the relations between the Folio and Holinshed. *Henry V.* is Holinshed dramatised. Even the humorous scenes show their indebtedness to him throughout. The stealing of the pax, the encounter between Pistol and the French gentleman, the death of the Boy, are all taken from hints in Holinshed. Fluellen with his talk of the mines and of the Duke of Gloucester and of the hot service at the bridge owes something to Holinshed just as if he were an historical character. The French boasting scenes are built up on suggestions from Holinshed. With the exception of the scenes with the Princess the play is Holinshed.

Now the agreements between the Folio and Holinshed on minor points of spelling are so close that it appears to me incontestable that the Folio was copied straight from Holinshed. There cannot be any text between. That is to say, the Folio text cannot be a copy of Shakespeare's original manuscript: it is Shakespeare's original manuscript. This is what Messrs. Pollard and Wilson call "bibliographical evidence," and I should be interested to see what explanation they offer of it, because I am not an expert in these matters and they are. And even where Shakespeare seems to have gone to Hall for information, the Folio is closer to the original than the Quarto. The whole of the discussion about Scotland (1,ii.) is much longer in Hall than in Holinshed. At 1,ii., 141, the Folio, like Hall, has "defend," the Quarto has "guard." I am not denying that the Quarto may yet turn out to be based to a certain extent on theatre transcripts. But these transcripts are later than the Folio, they are abridged transcripts of the Folio, and presuppose it at every turn. Take 4,vii., 91 once more. Holinshed says, "the King desired of Montioie to understand the name of the castle *neere adioining.*" The *Famous Victories* repeats Holinshed's phrase. The Folio says, "What

is this Castle call'd that stands *hard by*." The Quarto says, "What Castle call you that?" Surely there can be no doubt of the priority of the Folio here. But once the priority of the Folio is admitted with regard to the passages based on Holinshed, the whole case for the priority of the Folio is admitted. You cannot very well say that parts a, b, c of the Folio are earlier than the corresponding parts of the Quarto, while parts x, y, z of the Quarto are earlier than the corresponding parts of the Folio. That might be possible with other plays, but not with *Henry V*. The Quarto is itself based on Holinshed; take away from it what it owes to Holinshed, and there would be only a few shreds and tatters left.

I submit that the evidence of Holinshed proves conclusively that *Henry V*. can have no intricate or involved stage-history. Quarto and Folio alike are based on Holinshed, alike they are Holinshed dramatised. Whatever theory of the earliest version of *Henry V*. we may have, the nature of both the Quarto and the Folio makes it clear beyond a doubt that this earliest version stood in the closest imaginable relations to Holinshed. The numerous differences in the two texts cannot conceal their fundamental sameness of origin; that origin being Holinshed. As the Folio stands so near to Holinshed that no text can come between, it follows that the Folio is the earliest form of *Henry V*. The theory of a play revised a number of times becomes impossible. Revision would only have carried the play further and further from its source. Such a play, as its revisions were multiplied, could not have preserved that intimate agreement in petty detail with Holinshed that is so striking a characteristic of the Folio.

Nor can we assert that the scenes which show only slight traces of Holinshed are excrescences on the Folio. *Henry V*. is carelessly written but finely planned. The scenes where Holinshed's influence is less evident are not thrust into the play from without, they are an integral part of it. The two humorous scenes in Act II., written to say good-bye to Falstaff, are yet full of the bustle of war, and they hurry us on to France. There are no backwaters in this play, the sense of direction is never lost. The scene with Jamey and Macmorris has the right atmosphere for its position in the play. The siege of Harfleur is not forgotten, the quarrel is punctuated by the trumpet-calls of the besiegers, and it is broken up by the summons to a parley. The Boy in his last speech tells us he is going to the luggage, and by saying what a good prey the French might have of it prepares us for his end. Where Holinshed's material is so cunningly woven with what is foreign to it,



where the interrelation of parts is so faultless, I find it hard to believe in more than one author. Such a broth could be prepared by only one cook.

If we leave for a moment the somewhat narrow scientific (*i.e.*, philological and bibliographical) method and regard the play from the standpoint of art or philosophy, we shall find very little evidence to support the theory that we have work of varying dates in the Folio and Quarto. Maimed and scarred almost out of recognition though it be, the Quarto is substantially the same work as the Folio. It is simply a "potted" Folio. The two versions run on parallel lines, we have the same conception of character, the same unity underlying both. The play is of a piece throughout. If we had work of various dates and by other hands than Shakespeare, this unity would be impossible. A play begun by one man before 1593 and completed by others in 1599, would carry on its face evidence of disharmony and conflict of thought.

The blunders with regard to Exeter and the Dauphin have nothing to do with the root ideas of the play. The speeches attributed to the Dauphin in the Folio are given to other characters in the Quarto; that is to say, there is no difference here in the conception of the French. The scenes fulfil the same function in both versions; the French are covered with ridicule in one as in the other. A mere redistribution of speeches identical in their contents is no evidence of greater maturity of thought.

Messrs. Pollard and Wilson do, indeed, speak of "little variants" in reading between the Folio and the Quarto, the result, they appear to think (though I may be mis-interpreting them here) of improving touches. Well, we have mentioned a few: *Quarto* writers, *Folio* Authors; *Quarto* redresse, *Folio* reuenge; *Quarto* creatures, *Folio* wretches; *Quarto* deeds amisse, *Folio* offences. In all these cases the Folio must give us the original reading, because it reproduces the very words of Holinshed. The other "little variants" are all of the same sort, and the same explanation will cover them both—the faults of an actor's memory aggravated by the deficiencies of the pirate-reporter's method. If the variant readings are really an attempt to improve the text, they show us a Shakespeare who was remarkably tame and lazy. He goes through the play, crosses out a word here and there, and substitutes for it a synonym of the same number of syllables, so that he need not correct anything else in the line. Only words are changed, the ideas remain the same. The conception of character has not become deeper or subtler. Crass errors remain

untouched. I submit that Shakespeare, if he began to revise a six-years old play, would feel an irresistible desire to put more reality into his characters. Six years of experience and development would have left him dissatisfied with his earlier work, and the difference between the Quarto and the Folio would not be merely verbal. There would be a thousand strokes of delicate art to hit off his creations more nearly to the life.

Messrs. Pollard and Wilson quote lines from Chorus II. (not in the Quarto), that in their opinion are unworthy of the rest of the Folio and therefore belong to an earlier version. It is certain, however, that the Folio was written with extreme carelessness. It is thickly starred with errors, as for instance, *Thomas* for *Henry*, 2,ii., 148 ; *Douer* for *Hampton*, 3, Chorus 4 ; *Ireland* for *England*, 5,ii., 12. If any lines fall below the level of the rest of the Folio, this must be put down to the great haste and to the undoubted carelessness with which *Henry V.* was written. It may even have been necessary for the stage-manager to patch the play here and there with a piece of his own.

Finally the whole weight of external evidence is against the theory that there was a play of *Henry V* with choruses before 1599. The only Chorus that can be dated most probably belongs to the year 1599. Meres is silent about the play, and we have no quotations from *Henry V.*, no imitations of it, no reference to it in contemporary literature before 1599. After that date there is a constant stream of quotation and imitation. The external evidence fits the traditional date like "the fist in the eye."

The question of the sources on which Shakespeare drew for *Henry V.* has not been fully discussed as yet. Part of the Folio seems to be based on Hall. The discussion about a Scotch expedition in Act 1,ii. is so full that it appears to rest on Hall rather than Holinshed. In the latter Chronicle it is meagrely treated, while in the former some pages are devoted to it. In one passage the Folio is nearer to Hall than the Quarto. At 1,ii., 141 the Folio has the word *deprend*, as in Hall, and the Quarto has *guard*. If, then, this part of *Henry V.* is based on Hall, the Folio text is again demonstrated to be the earlier one. This speech, 1,ii., 140-2, is a passage of the greatest importance for the theory of Messrs. Pollard and Wilson. It cannot have been cut in the theatre transcript, because it is absolutely necessary. It answers Henry's speech immediately preceding, and is answered by the speech of Henry that comes immediately after it. This passage must

therefore have stood in any theatre version of the play. The Quarto reads:—

“ The Marches gracious soueraigne, sha be sufficient  
To guard your *England* from the pilfering borderers.”

The Quarto reading with its lame metre is undeniably corrupt. It also reads *England* for *in-land* in the Folio—an obvious mis-hearing. The Quarto then in a passage that must have stood in every theatre transcript, gives us a version not only too corrupt to be based on manuscript but one obviously taken down by ear. It appears to me—so far as it goes—a convincing refutation of the theories of Messrs. Pollard and Wilson. But I have not the slightest doubt that Messrs. Pollard and Wilson are not convinced by it or that they will have a very good answer ready. Chorus II., 1-6 reads:—

“ Following the Mirror of all Christian Kings,”

which seems to be a reminiscence of Hall's words, “ This battail maie be a mirror and glasse to all Christian princes to beholde and folowe ” (1548, an. 3, p. 52). Further, Mr. Boswell-Stone has pointed out that the references to the English love of beef in 3,vii. may be from Hall (*Shakespeare's Holinshed*, 1896, p. 185).

Again for the speech 4,i., 312-19, there is little or nothing in *Holinshed* or Hall. Aldis Wright suggests Fabian as the source of the statement that Henry had built two chantries for the repose of Richard's soul (Clarendon Press edition, 1888, p. 171). The line

“ Fieue hundred poore I haue in yeerely pay ”

seems to point to some definite source of information, if it could only be found.

If it should be granted that Shakespeare wrote *Henry V.*, and that he drew his statements not only from *Holinshed*, but also from Hall, Fabian and perhaps other sources, it throws an interesting light on his method of preparing a drama. It shows him taking more trouble to collect his facts than he is generally credited with. Those, on the other hand, who see in *Henry V.* the work of various poets, will probably declare that the different sources employed give us a clue to the different writers who put it together. The evidence might only suggest, however, that there really was an intermediate play between the *Famous Victories* and *Henry V.*, and that Shakespeare took what he wanted from this intermediate play rather than from the *Famous Victories*. It would not prove that the Quarto was the earlier version, or that any substantial part of *Henry V.* was taken from the intermediate play. The passages are so

few and so unimportant that they rather suggest that of the intermediate play only little has passed over into *Henry V*.

I have not paid much attention to the theories of Mr. Robertson, as I understand they are not fully elaborated in his book *Shakespeare and Chapman*, and that a new work is shortly to follow. Mr. Robertson's method is chiefly verbal. He draws up a list of words in *Henry V*. that are rare in Shakespeare and that occur more or less frequently in Chapman. The argument from vocabulary must, however, be established on a scientific basis before it can become useful. I do not know if there are any plays which modern critics acknowledge to be entirely Shakespeare's work, but if there should be any, their vocabulary ought to be investigated first. We should then have some idea of the percentage of rare words to be expected in any particular play. If one of the undoubtedly genuine plays belonged to Shakespeare's middle period, we should be able to determine how far he was under Chapman's influence, and whether he was in the habit of borrowing more from him than from other contemporaries. Shakespeare, with his keen relish of the striking phrase, and with his retentive memory, would be likely to use a great many rare words that other men would forget. The argument from vocabulary does not at present take us very far. By the same method one could prove that the early work of Keats was written by Leigh Hunt. Some of the words Chapman certainly would not have used as Mr. Robertson suggests. For instance, Mr. Robertson gives "disciplines of war" from Chapman's Epistle Dedicatory to the *Iliads*. It is true that phrase occurs in *Henry V*., but in Fluellen's speech, where it is made fun of. But until Mr. Robertson has developed his theory, criticism is waste of time, as it is very likely that all these points will be dealt with.

The problem of *Henry V*. is more important than it seems at first sight. If it was written in 1599, then it throws a flood of light on Shakespeare's method of work. Think of the speed at which it must have been written, think of its indifference to detail, the snatching up of everything from Holinshed that suited his immediate purpose, careless as to whether it fitted in with what had gone before or what was to follow after. It shows us the traditional Shakespeare in his most happy-go-lucky mood. "His mind and hand went together; And what he thought, he uttered with that easinesse, that wee haue scarce received from him a blot in his papers." Is not *Henry V*. the best example imaginable of all this? The crowds of unnecessary characters, some pressed into service on the spur of the moment without a thought of what the stage demands, the irreconcilable and glaring contradictions, the numberless mistakes in detail,

poor lines mixed with good just as they came, are not these typical of a *Henry V.* as it sprang fresh from Shakespeare's brain? They certainly do not belong to a *Henry V.* that had passed through the fire of his correction.

Of course this theory of the relations between the Quarto and the Folio raises a very important question. Who was the stage editor of *Henry V.*? Did Shakespeare stand by indifferent and see his choruses jettisoned and his speeches mangled? Is it possible to imagine him joining in the work himself? Did Shakespeare in the exercise of his splendid powers lightly toss off *Henry V.* and regard it as a mere bagatelle? Few will assert that Shakespeare was deeply interested in the drama, or that he put forth all his strength in writing it. Its brilliance and its ease are the signs that he was master of his subject, not that it mastered him and would not let him go. Vigour it has, but neither depth nor breadth nor the immense horizon of his greater plays. With the possible exception of the *Merry Wives*, there is no work of Shakespeare's middle period about whose fate he is so likely to have been indifferent as *Henry V.*

## CHAPTER V.

### TEXTUS RECEPTUS.

**I**N this chapter I propose to discuss a few readings of the received text. I shall divide up the cases to be discussed into their various categories.

#### (1) *Grammatical Changes.*

The most important of these changes is concerned with the difference in number between the nominative and its verb. As to the differences between the Folio and Quarto, excluding one example after *if*, where the subjunctive may have caused confusion (4,vii., 163), and Fluellen's English, we find eleven cases of disagreement. In one of these the Folio has a plural noun with a singular verb (1,ii., 243), in nine the Quarto (2,i. 3, ii., 82, iv., 82, 4,i., 135, iii., 18, 69, 106, vii., 162, viii., 86). We also have an instance at 2,i., 121, where the Folio has omitted 's for *is*. In addition, we have a number of cases where the Folio has this construction, and has been "corrected" by later Folios or by modern editors. (See also Professor Moore Smith's *Henry V.*, p. 243).

1. Prologue 9. Spirits, that hath dar'd. So *Folios* 1-3. *Folio* 4 and *Delius*, Spirit, that hath. *Staunton and most modern editors*, have. *Evans, Moore Smith, E. K. Chambers, Lobban*, spirits that hath.
- 1,i., 97. Before the Frenchman speake a word of it. *Folio* 2, speakes. *Folios* 3, 4, speaks. *Modern editors*, speak.
- 1,ii., 27. Wrongs giues, *Folio* 1. Wrong giues, *Folios* 2-4. Wrongs give, *Malone and modern editors*, except *Moore Smith, E. K. Chambers*.
- 1,ii., 27-8. Swords, that makes, *Folios* 1-3. Swords? that makes, *Folio* 4. Swords that make, *Rowe and modern editors*, except *Moore Smith, E. K. Chambers*.
- 1,ii., 243. As is our wretches, *Folios* 1-4. Are, *Qq., Rowe, and modern editors*, except *Moore Smith, E. K. Chambers*.
- 2,ii., 103. Though the truth of it stands, *Folio* 1. Stand, *Folios* 2-4. *Modern editors*, stands.

2,iv., 1. Thus comes the English, *Folios* 1-4. Rowe, etc., come. Cambridge editors, Moore Smith, Gollancz, Evans, Lobban, comes.

2,iv., 80. The borrowed Glories . . . that . . . longs, *Folios* 1-4. Long, Pope and modern editors, except Moore Smith, Evans, Shakespeare Head editor, E. K. Chambers.

3,ii., 63. The Mynes is, *Folio* 1. Are, *Folios* 2-4.

3,ii., 116. The trumpet call, *Folios* 1, 2. Calls, *Folios* 3, 4. Most modern editors read call.

On what principle are we to decide in all these cases of disagreement? In the first place, a plural noun with a singular verb was not at all uncommon in Shakespeare's time. Wright (*A.Y.L.*, p. 88; *Cov.*, p. 221) regards them with suspicion as idiosyncrasies of the Folio. But cf. Franz, *Shakespeare Grammatik*, pp. 562-72, etc., A. Schmidt, *Ges. Abh.* (1889), pp. 336-7, Pollert (*Die 3 Person Pluralis auf s bei Shakespeare*, Diss., Marburg, 1881), and Knecht (*Die Kongruenz zwischen Subjekt und Praedikat und die 3. Person Pluralis Praesentis auf-s in Elizabethanischem Englisch, Anglistische Forschungen*, No. 33). Pollert says: "Sie sind so zahlreich, finden sich in so verschiedenen Ausgaben, sind manchmal durch den Reim gesichert; finden sich häufig in von einander unabhängigen Ausgaben zugleich, dass es mir als unmoeglich erscheint, sie als blosser Druckfehler anzusehen." (p. 57). Knecht goes further and shows that this phenomenon is peculiarly common in the drama about the turn of the century.

On the other hand Malone has pointed out that Folio 2 made many changes in Shakespeare's grammar. (*Wks.* (1790) I. Pref., pp. 20, *et seq.*). Cf. also C. A. Smith in *Eng. St.*, XXX., pp. 1, *et seq.* Smith points out that Folio 2 paid especial attention to this point of agreement in number between nominative and verb, and it altered the text of Folio 1 in several places, though not in every case. Malone mentions a similar case, the *Chronicles* published by Hall-Holinshed-Speed-Barker. In these editions you find the Elizabethan compositor making considerable grammatical alterations in his copy. Or to take an example from this very play. At 3,ii., 63, Folio 2 changes *is* of Folio 1 to *are* in a speech of Fluellen's. This change is important; it shows that Folio 2 had no authority for its emendations.

A third point must be mentioned, the untrustworthiness of the printers of the Folio as to the presence or absence of an *s*. Mr. Pollard, in his edition of *Richard II.*, gives a list of mistakes

in the Folio. Of twelve mistakes due to omission of a letter, six come from omitting an *s*; of ten mistakes due to adding a letter, six come from an added *s*. (*A New Shakespearian Quarto* (1916), p. 77). Walker (*Crit.*, I., 233) imagines that such mistakes are due to some peculiarity in Shakespeare's handwriting. (See Furness, *Othello*, Var. ed., p. 12 note (ed. 7). But they occur just as often in plays based on a printed Quarto. Taking all these points together, what readings are to be recommended?

To consider the simplest case, *wrongs gives*, that is, a plural noun with a verb in the singular following it immediately. To say that we find this construction elsewhere in rime does not carry us far. Poets often allow themselves liberties for the sake of a rime, that they would never dream of taking in prose. Now it is interesting to compare the Folio with Quarto 2 of *Hamlet*, as this edition of *Hamlet* occupies an important position among the texts of Shakespeare's plays. It is perhaps the best edition of any of his dramas. The disagreements between Quarto and Folio are numerous, and while the Folio has a plural in *s* directly before a singular verb three times, the Quarto never has it. Compare, also, 1,ii., 134:—

“How weary, stale, flat, and vnprofitable  
Seems to me all the vses of this world.” (Folio.)

Quarto 2 reads *seeme*. 3,ii., 214 (fauourites flyes, *Folio*; fauourite flyes, *Quarto* 2). 4,v., 78 (sorrowes comes, *Folio*; sorrowes come, *Quarto* 2). 5,i., 277 (griefes Beares, *Folio*; grieve Beares, *Quarto* 2).

Mommsen says as to the Folio text of *Romeo and Juliet*: “Besonders oft kommt es vor, dass zwei Woerter nach einander ein *s* am Ende haben, von denen das eine kein *s* haben soll, gleich als wenn der Setzer, der mehrere Woerter zusammenlas, beiden aus Versehen dieselben Endbuchstaben zutheilte. So lesen wir in A [=Folio] *others friends, legs excels, in the Princes names, Howlings attends, Gossips bowles, feares comes, fuer other friends, in the Princes name, leg excels, Howling attends, Gossips bowle, feare comes*. Von derselben Art ist der Fehler *wedded bed* fur *wedding bed*.” (*Romeo und Julia*, 1859, p. 69). The examples from the Folio text of *Romeo and Juliet* are especially instructive, because we know from what Quarto the Folio is printed, and can thus see the compositor at work changing his copy. Akin to the mistakes recorded by Mommsen is *Maiesties surueyes* from *Henry V* (1.ii., 197) for *Maiestie surueyes*. Now consider the context in which *wrongs giues* occurs.

“’Gainst him, whose wrongs giues edge vnto the Swords,  
That makes such waste in briefe mortalitie.”



If you accept Mommsen's conclusion that the compositor of the Folio was particularly liable to go wrong where one word ended in *s*, you will agree that the temptation must have been overwhelming in a passage like the above. I consider it very likely that *giues* is a printer's error for *giue* in Folio. For some critics, but unfortunately not for all, this conclusion will be strengthened by the fact that the line gains in euphony, when this goose (to quote Tennyson) is kicked out of the boat. With respect to the other instances, I see no reason to doubt the reading of the Folio. The construction in each of these cases is very much better vouched for than in the case of *wrongs gives*, where noun and verb come directly together.

We have the same difficulty with the plural *s* in nouns where no verb follows. The Folio and Quarto disagree frequently and the Folios differ from one another. The list of differences between the second Quarto and the Folio of *Hamlet* shows how untrustworthy the Folio is. At 1,ii., 131, of *Henry V.* all modern editors agree in substituting *blood* for the *Bloods* of the Folio. There are only two instances where I would suggest a change of the received text. At 2,iii., 16, I would retain the Folio reading "fingers end." All modern editions, so far as I know, adopt the reading of the Quarto here. It is not altogether necessary. N. E. D. gives examples of the singular form for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries under *Finger-end*. Cf. *finger-end* in *Merry Wives*, 5,v., 88. Cf. also *fingers point* in *Kyd Soliman and Perseda* Wks. (Boas), I., 195. It is really a very nice question why one should read *ends* here but not *hands* in 2,ii., 33, especially when one considers that the language here is Mrs. Quickly's, who is a licensed offender against the King's English. The Folio reading is in the acting editions of 1773, 1780, 1789.

Another case that it would be convenient to consider as grammatical is 1,ii., 163, where the Folio has *their*, Quarto *your*. *Their* makes nonsense in the context, *your* would make some sense. Most modern editors since Capell read *her*. But as the confusion between *your* and *their* can be explained so naturally as a misreading of the usual abbreviation of *th* (cf. *ye* for *the*), I think it is better to read *your*.

#### *Omissions in the Folio.*

Slight omissions are characteristic of the Folio. Cf. the omissions acknowledged by everybody as such at II. Chor., 31-2; 2,i., 110-1; 2,ii., 87, 159, 176; iii., 44; 3,v., 26; 4,v., 11; V. Chor., 10,ii., 350, 361.

1,ii. 183 *Folio* reads : Like Musicke. *Cant.* Therefore doth heauen diuide. *Quarto* reads : True : therefore doth heauen diuide. Capell proposed to adopt the *Quarto* reading, and is followed by Shakespeare Head editor and Henley ; S. Walker proposed *And therefore.* Most modern editors keep to the *Folio* reading I think the *Quarto* reading is preferable. Mommsen gives instances of similar omissions in *Romeo and Juliet* (pp. 69-70), where we can control the *Folio*, because we know from which *Quarto* it was printed.

Again at 4,v., 18 :

FOLIO—

- Con.* “ Disorder that hath spoyl’d us, friend vs now,  
Let vs on heapes go offer vp our liues.  
*Orl.* We are enow yet liuing in the Field,  
To smother vp the English in our throngs,  
If any order might be thought vpon.”

QUARTO—

- Con.* “ We are inough yet liuing in the field,  
To smother vp the English,  
If any order might be thought vpon.”

And then a few lines further down :—

“ Disorder that hath spoyl’d vs, right vs now,  
Come we in heapes, weele offer vp our liues  
*Vnto these English, or else die with fame.*”

Steevens inserted in the *Folio* the line from the *Quarto* I have italicised after

“ Let vs on heapes go offer vp our liues.”

This emendation has not found general acceptance. But yet I think it is right. The Constable, according to the *Quarto*, calls on his countrymen to offer up their lives to the Englishmen ; Orleance answers we need not do that, there are enough of us to smother up the English, if only order could be achieved. It will be seen, if the two speeches are closely compared, that Orleance answers the Constable point for point, and that his words “ to smother up the English ” look like an answer to the Constable’s “ offer vp our liues *Vnto those English.*” The emendation is not very daring, in any case, when we remember that the *Folio*’s chief fault is omission.

At 4,viii., 58 :

*Quarto* : “ Had you bene as you seemed, I had made no offence.”

*Folio* : " For had you beene as I took you for, I made no offence."

I submit *Folio* should read " I had made no offence."

*Re-insertion in the text of a word or words omitted by modern editors.*

5,i., 93-4.—

*Quarto* : " And patches will I get vnto these skarres,  
And sweare I gat them in the Gallia warres."

*Folio* : " And patches will I get vnto these cudgeld scarres,  
And swore I got them in the Gallia warres."

Pope, Malone, Shakespeare Head ed., Craig, Henley omit *cudgeld*. For the benefit of any who are tempted to follow them I may mention that Pistol's lines are not meant to be very regular, and also that Heuser has shown that Shakespeare occasionally gives the first line of a couplet two extra syllables. Cf. *R.II.*, 5,iii., 101 ; *2H4*, 3,i., 30-1 (*Shaks. Jbch.*, XXVIII., 234-5). Cf. also *Henry V.*, 3,vii., 168-9.

*Substitution of some other word for the one standing in the received text.*

1,ii., 173.—*Folio* tame. *Quarto* spoyle. Rowe (ed. 2) and modern editors tear. *Theobald* taint.

I submit that *Theobald*'s emendation is more scientific than Rowe's. It gives us much the same meaning as in the *Quarto*, which is important, and it resembles the *Folio* in sound and in spelling, thus explaining the mistake.

3,iii., 47.—

*Quarto* : " To raise so great a siege : therefore dread King."

*Folio* : " To rayse so great a Siege : Therefore great King."

The Governor's speech is reported with such exceptional accuracy in the *Quarto* that there is no doubt it goes back to a genuine theatre-manuscript. I submit that its reading ought to be adopted. The *Quarto*'s reading could scarcely arise as a corruption of the *Folio* ; while the *Folio*'s reading could easily arise through a compositor's blunder.

4,i., 165. *Quarto* reads :—

" But the master is not to answer for his seruants, The father for his sonne, nor the king his subiects : For they *purpose* not their deaths, when they *crave* their seruices."

*Folio* :—

" The King is not bound to answer the particular endings of his Souldiers, the Father of his Sonne, nor the Master of his

Seruant, for they *purpose* not their death, when they *purpose* their seruices."

The italics are mine in both passages.

I submit that the repetition of *purpose* in Folio is peculiarly ungraceful here, and alien to the antithetical style Shakespeare is using. For the essence of this style consists, not in repeating the same word, but in constructing an almost unvarying system of accents balanced against one another, the accented words contrasting in sense. So a double effect is produced; the difference of meaning strengthens the accent, the force of the accent heightens the difference of meaning. In any case *purpose their seruices* is a very awkward phrase. And it is unlikely, if *purpose* really did occur twice in the original text, that it should have been altered in the Quarto. The likelihood is all for the other side. The second *purpose* seems to me here a mistake of the copier or printer. I have since discovered that Pope also supported the Quarto reading, as was frequent with him.

5,i., 94—*Quarto*: "And sweare I gat."

*Folio*, 1, 2: "And swore I got."

*Quarto* generally adopted as to *sweare*. I think it is possible that the *Quarto* is right as to *gat*; it suits the ranting style. It is probable that the compositor changed *gat* to *got*, because the former was old-fashioned; and at the same time, through muddle-headedness, he may have changed *sweare* to *swore*, thinking that this, too, was in the preterite. *Sweare* is an occasional form of *sware*. I think this is a possible mistake for a compositor working quickly, and not paying much attention to the sense of the passage.

5,i., 86.—*Doll* is the reading of both the *Quarto* and *Folio* here, and as it is possible in the meaning of woman (see N.E.D.), it seems to me extremely unscientific to change it to *Nell*, as most editors do. Mrs. Quickly is called *Ursula* in *Henry IV.*, so Shakespeare does not seem to have been very sure about her name.

*Oaths*.—There can be no doubt that the text of the *Folio* was revised by someone or other, and many oaths altered or struck out. The question is whether the reading of the *Quarto* in these places is to be regarded as the authentic text. If there is the slightest likelihood that the *Quarto* gives us the original text, as Shakespeare wrote it, then its readings ought to be substituted in the received texts for the alterations made to conform with the Censor's wishes, the more so as these alterations are often weak and silly. There is some trace of system

in the Folio, inasmuch as the oaths of common people are struck out, but not those of the King. We have the same tendency in *Richard III.*

2,i., 32—*Quarto* by gads lugges. *Folio* by this hand.

I see no reason for still keeping to the Folio reading. It is more than likely that Shakespeare wrote *by gads lugges*. On the other hand *by this hand* may not be his at all; it might even be the suggestion of the Censor.

4,i., 92—God knowes whether we shall see the end or no (*instead of as in Folio* but I thinke wee shall neuer see the end of it).

4,i., 198—Yfaith he saies true (*instead of Folio* 'Tis certaine).

4,i., 209—Mas youle pay him then (*instead of as in Folio*, You pay him then).

I think we must have *youle* instead of *you*; it suits the sense better, cf. lower down in the same speech: "You'le neuer trust his word after". This emendation was proposed by Malone. These corrections are from the speeches of common soldiers.

[4,iii., 24—By Ioue *Folio*. (The whole passage is omitted in the *Quarto*). Malone supposed that in the original some such expression as *By Heaven* stood here, and that it was altered by the Censor. But in the same speech we have *Gods will* and *Gods peace*, and if the Censor could digest such camels as those, he would probably have no difficulty with a gnat like *By Heaven*. The King's oaths are nearly always treated with respect.]

Another passage, where the alteration of an oath may have had serious consequences, is 2,i., 38-40, in Mrs. Quickly's speech.

*Quarto*: "O Lord heeres Corporall *Nims* [*Q.* 2, 3, *Nim*] now shall We haue wilful adultery [etc]."

*Folio*: "O welliday Lady, if he be not hewne now, we shall see wilful adultery [etc]."

Malone proposed to read:—

"O Lord! heere's corporal Nym's—now shall we have wilful adultery and murder committed."

He says: "I have here followed the *quarto* because it requires no emendation. Here's corporal Nym's *sword drawn*, the hostess would say, but she breaks off abruptly. The editor of the folio, here, as in many other places, not understanding an abrupt passage, I believe, made out something that he

conceived might have been intended. Instead of 'O Lord,' to avoid the penalty of the statute, he inserted 'O well-a-day, lady,' and added, 'if he be not *hewn* now.' The latter word is evidently corrupt, and was probably printed, as Mr. Steevens conjectures, for *hewing*. But for the reason already given, I have adhered to the Quarto." Malone is followed by Reed.

Halliwell proposed, "O Lord! here's Corporal Nym's—O well-a-day, lady! if he be not hewn now! . . ." That is to say, he simply inserts the Quarto line in the Folio.

Quarto 1 has *Nims* with *s*, not, as Malone thought, to signify a genitive, but probably in error. Quartos 2 and 3 read *Nim*. I think the original read, "O Lord, here's Corporal Nim, if he be not hewn now, we shall see wilful adultery and murder committed." The Censor, or whoever corrected the oaths, in striking out "O Lord" and substituting, "O welliday Lady," either by mistake struck out the following words, "here is Corporal Nim," or his correction may have been so written as to cover them from sight. I submit that the emendation here proposed makes sense with the slightest expenditure of effort, and is supported by an explanation that is not difficult to accept.

*Mistakes caused by the attribution of a speech to the wrong character.*

This is universally acknowledged to have occurred in the play at 1,ii., 166 and at 4,iii., 11-14. I believe it has also occurred in the following instances:—  
4,viii., 81-118—

The speeches here are differently divided in the various editions. Folio 1 has:—

*Exe.* ll. 81-4. *King*, 85-117. *Exe.*, 117. *King*, 118-21.

Quarto 1—by an obvious misprint—gives everything to Exeter down to and including 1.117.

Folios 2-4 break the long speech up, and give ll. 108-10, and part of 111 to Exeter (*Edward to twenty*), and make Henry begin again, *O God* . . .

Quartos 2-3 give ll. 81-105 to Exeter; ll. 106-7 to the King; 108-11 (as in Folios 2-4) to Exeter, and the rest of the speech to the King (as in Folios 2-4).

The above cannot be followed without close consultation of the Globe edition. Stated otherwise, the matter stands thus. In Folio 1 we have a very long speech from Henry running to

33 lines (4,viii., 85-117). In Quarto 1, by an obvious misprint, this and the preceding speech of four lines are attributed to Exeter. Folios 2-4 break up the long speech by giving four lines in the middle to Exeter (*Edward the Duke of York to five and twenty*). Quartos 2, 3, give Exeter the work of enumeration to do, and Henry comments on the great result of the battle. In them Exeter goes straight on from 1.81 to 1.105 without a break, then come an exclamation and a question from Henry, then three lines of enumeration from Exeter again, the whole rounded off by Henry's apostrophe to the Almighty. The problem is, which version is nearest to the original?

The arrangement of Folios 2-4 is adopted by Tonson (1734), Pope, Warburton, Theobald, Johnson, Hammer, Rann, Steevens, Charles Kean, and in all acting editions (Oxberry, Kemble, Drury Lane, Cumberland, Lacy, Kean) except Irving's and Calvert's.

Rowe, Capell, Malone, Reed, George Steevens (1802) Boswell, Singer, Knight, Collier, Cowden Clarke, Delius, Cambridge editors, Herford, S. Lee, Henley, Gollancz, Chambers follow the arrangement of Folio 1. In this I believe they are wrong. To begin with Folio breaks up 1. 111 into two, thus:—

“ But five and twentie.  
O God, thy Arme was heere.”

Now, if these two fragments were part of the same speech, they would not be divided, they would be printed together as one line. *O God* is inset in the Folio as at the beginning of a speech. That they are separated makes it extremely probable that one speech was made to end and another to begin here. Only once in *Henry V.* is a line broken up (4,ii., 56), and there the speech consists only of this line. There is no instance of a line being broken up in a long speech. I am aware, that to accept the readings of Folios 2-4 presupposes two omissions in Folio 1, i.e., that *Exeter* has been omitted as speaker at 1. 108, as well as *King* at 1. 111. But omissions are so common in Folio 1 that there is nothing very violent in that presupposition.

And further, the weight of evidence is against the reading of Folio 1. The evidence of Folios 2-4 is not perhaps cumulative in its effect; what Folio 2 does Folios 3-4 generally do as a matter of course. But there is the fact that Folio 2 has corrected Folio 1 here, and that it is followed by the other Folios. And in the most important point—the attribution of ll. 108-11—Folios 2-4 are supported by Quartos 2-3, who also give ll. 108-11 to Exeter. And their evidence is

cumulative in its effect, because Quarto 3 is no slavish imitator of Quarto 2; on the contrary, it is very critical and independent in its readings. Of course it is possible to urge that Quarto 1 supports Folio 1 here, you have but to correct its one omission at l. 85, and put *King* as the speaker of the lines that follow, and you have the reading of Folio 1. And it might further be urged that the text of Quartos 2-3, is merely an attempt to correct something that was obviously wrong in Quarto 1, only the corrector, not knowing exactly where the mistake was, made the correction in the wrong place. But it is strange that the corrector should have brought Exeter in again. On the face of it this was neither the necessary nor the obvious thing to do. And it is also curious that Folios 2-4 should have made very much the same correction—too curious for a coincidence. I may point out that the Quarto reports Exeter exceptionally well, so that any correction it makes has more than usual authority. It is worth noticing that Exeter's enumeration of the English dead at ll. 108-11 in answer to a question from Henry would exactly correspond to his enumeration of the French dead at ll. 81-4 in answer to a question from Henry.

Finally, I believe the reading of Folios 2-4 to be "better," that is to say, when the speech is broken up as they give it, the effect is more dramatic. The one long speech of Henry V. is tiring; by changing about from speaker to speaker Shakespeare engages our curiosity the more and so heightens the interest of the passage. But I am loth to bring forward reasons of this sort. It is so easy for another critic to start up and declare that for him the single long speech is dramatically far more effective than the succession of short utterances.

The other passage is at 2, i., 28-31.

QUARTO has:—

*Bar.* "Goodmorrow ancient *Pistoll*."

Here comes ancient *Pistoll*, I prithee *Nim* be quiet."

*Nim.* "How do you my Hoste?"

*Pist.* "Base slaue, callest thou me hoste? . . ."

The FOLIO has:—

*Bar.* "Heere comes Ancient *Pistoll* and his wife: good Corporall be patient heere. How now mine Hoaste *Pistoll*?"

*Pist.* "Base Tyke, cal'st thou mee Hoste . . ."

Here the Quarto as it stands is more reasonable. Bardolfe sees Pistol coming, greets him, begs Nim to be quiet; Nim will not be quieted, greets Pistol sneeringly, is answered



insultingly, they nearly come to blows, and are parted by Bardolfe. In the Folio Bardolf tries to quiet Nim, but it is Bardolf whose greeting makes Pistol angry; it is Bardolf who is answered insultingly by Pistol, while it is Nim and Pistol who nearly come to blows, Bardolfe parting them. I submit that given the condition of affairs—Nim and Pistol's enmity over a love affair—the Quarto is much more reasonable and consistent.

The mistake of the Folio is quite easy to understand, if Bardolf's speech in the MS. ended with the line, and Nim's speech was written close up to it without being inset. If the MS. of the Folio was an old one, it must have been well thumbed, dirty, and in places broken and repaired, and what stood in the margin or at the bottom or top of a page might easily be overlooked.

#### *Fluellen.*

Fluellen's English differs very much in the Quarto and the Folio. The oaths are more numerous in the Quarto, and there are certainly one or two cases (as, e.g., at 3,ii., 21-2), where the Quarto reading is the original one. There is one other case where the Quarto seems better than the Folio. 4,vii., 45—

*Quarto*: " 'Tis not well to take the tale out Of a man's mouth, ere it is *made an end* and finished."

*Folio*: " It is not well done (marke you now) to take the tales out of my mouth, ere it is *made* and finished."

Actors' gag is impossible here. It would not occur to an actor to change *made* into *made an end*; he would gain too little by it. The two synonyms—*made an end*, and *finished*—occurring together are very characteristic of Fluellen. Instances enough of it are to be found in this very speech. The Quarto reading is given by Capell, Malone, Reed, Boswell, Singer, Steevens, and G. Steevens (1802), but has been dropped since then. The mistake may have arisen in the Folio by a pure oversight, or on the other hand the compositor may have "corrected" Fluellen's English into something he could better understand. *Make an end* is good enough Shakespearian English. Cf. N.E.D., s.v. *End*, sb. 12. Cf. also *Merry Wives*, 1,ii., 12, where another Welshman, Evans, is speaking. My friend, Professor Gruffydd, informs me that it is probably not a Welsh construction.

## ADDENDA.

*Pages 11-19.* After thinking the matter over again and discussing it carefully with a friend, I have come to the conclusion that the "stenographic" edition of Smith's sermon is really a shorthand report, as it claims to be. The change of style in the middle of the sermon can only be explained by supposing that there were two reporters at work, who had different methods of writing up their notes. If this is so, nothing prevents us from accepting the greater part of the Quarto as a shorthand-report except the one difficulty of explaining how the alignment in the Quarto is so good. It is often wrong, of course, but for all that it is simply marvellous, if it is based only on rough shorthand-notes. Heywood's plays are for this reason of the greatest importance. Their alignment is much better than that of the Quarto. If any stenographic edition of a play by Heywood could be proved to be due to shorthand alone without other aid, then the last valid objection to regarding the Quarto of *Henry V.* as a shorthand-report would disappear.

*Pages 23-7.* Jamy—the name of the Scotch captain—provides us with a decisive reason for refusing to believe that the scene in which he appears was written as a compliment to King James. Such a character with such a name could never have been created with the idea of flattering James I.

*Pages 42-5.* To the instances where the Folio has a form with *s* by mistake must probably be added *Succours* at 3,iii., 45. Holinshed has *succour* here, and so has the Quarto. As the Quarto text of this speech is so accurate that it can only be based on an authentic theatre-manuscript, we have a special reason for suspecting the reading of the Folio. At 1,ii., 74, the Folio has *th' Heire*, Quarto and Holinshed *heire*. All editors except E. K. Chambers give the Quarto reading. If the Folio reading is a mistake, it probably arose because there is another *th'* in the same line. It is curious that editors should accept the reading of Holinshed and Quarto at 1,ii., 74, where the Quarto is at its worst, and reject the reading of Holinshed and Quarto at 3,iii., 45, where the Quarto is at its best.

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